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INTRODUCTION

This article is a conceptual-historical effort to show the relevance, indeed centrality, of the family to representations of gendered and racialized difference in the Caribbean.<sup>1</sup> While it addresses itself to broader postcolonial feminist and Caribbeanist debates and concerns, it specifically grounds this analytical terrain in Guyana, a country where the racialization of the political process – between Afro-Guyanese and Indo-Guyanese – is today deeply embedded in the country's coastal fabric. Most scholarly and popular writings locate the historical "origins" of the conflict between these two groups (a conflict that reduces the country to its coastal limits and marginalizes all racialized "others" and in particular the indigenous, Amerindian populations) to the formal divisions of labor in a colonial plantation economy. I hope to contribute to, and extend, this discussion by showing why and how family comes to matter in the production of racialized differences, and what its consequences are for women.<sup>2</sup>

1. A much earlier version of the historical section of this paper was presented at the Conference on Slavery and the Atlantic World, Tulane University, New Orleans, 1996. I am grateful to Betty Wood and Sylvia Frey for encouraging me to reflect on these historical questions, and to Prabhu Mohapatra, whose historical work on British Guiana in large part inspired this essay. Andaiye, Kamala Kempadoo, Anne Macpherson, Michelle Murphy, Linda Peake, and the journal reviewers have generously shared their time, comments, and work with me. Thanks especially to Nigel Bolland for pushing me beyond the limits of the Anglophone Caribbean.

2. This essay is part of a broader study of contemporary representations of racialized differences among Afro-Guyanese and Indo-Guyanese, the way such differences become reduced to culture, and the effects on women of such discourses. The discussion started here is intended to indicate some of the conceptual and historical points of departure for that project.

I argue that we need to take the family seriously for – at least – two reasons. The first has to do with the terms upon which claims to racialized difference are made. Brackette Williams (1991) demonstrates how the politics of cultural struggle in postcolonial Guyana are partly shaped historically by the “conflation of race, class, and culture” in the production of difference. In this essay, I want to consider how gender figures into colonial constructions of stratified difference, and particularly how ideas of family and kinship become intimately implicated in the production of otherness. Discussions of domesticity are crucial to mapping how differences called cultures are made and imagined to be made in familial (these supposedly intimate) spaces, and the ways in which women come to stand for such differences (Yuval-Davis & Anthias 1989; Loomba 1998).

This article is concerned with exploring how dimensions of Caribbean scholarship relating to the family might be fruitfully apprehended and extended to engage these issues. This brings us to the second reason for taking the family seriously. Mindie Lazarus-Black (1994:66 n. 25) points out that what is needed is an analysis of the *idea* of the family in the Caribbean, its ideological history. And Raymond T. Smith (1996) notes that the perception of ethnic differences as stable and always discernible in the same way has an academic history. As this paper will show, ideas about the family are intimately connected to ideas about “ethnic”/ “cultural” differences, and the images of different families bequeathed to us by much of the early and some of the later social science literature have helped in no small way to naturalize this connection. In this respect, what is at stake is a reckoning of our accountability as academics and policymakers. To what extent have notions of the family in the Caribbean rehearsed colonial constructions of women’s place, and of cultural differences? How might we fashion research agendas that willfully escape repeating the enduring legacy of our colonial pasts?

The first section of this essay revisits the early scholarly (predominantly sociological and anthropological) output on “the Caribbean family,” focusing on its bounded and ethnocentric conception of domesticity. It then moves on to consider feminist and other critical scholarship that challenged these earlier representations and that asks us to rethink the family in contexts that crisscross the domestic, the local, the national. This work, I suggest, is crucial to our understanding of the ways in which the family produces both affiliation and difference and of the role played by gender in such productions. The remainder of the paper returns to Guyana by way of example: in the final section I historicize the discussion by looking primarily at the shifting representations of the indentured and ex-indentured Indian community to show how the family comes to be domesticated and to be seen as an origin site of cultural difference as expressed through racialized differences among women.

## REPRESENTING THE CARIBBEAN FAMILY

Between the 1950s and the early 1970s, Caribbean women appeared in the academic literature primarily within the context of households and families. The bulk of the research concentrated on accounting for the fact that kinship structures in the region tended to depart from the Western nuclear family pattern. Differences between Afro-Caribbeans and Indo-Caribbeans were also established through separate ethnographic accounts, all of which generally agreed on the "facts" at hand. Consensual and nonresidential (visiting) relationships were prevalent among black women, while Indian women tended to enter into earlier, and often arranged, marriages. Afro-Caribbean households were more likely to be headed by a woman. Finally, whereas Indo-Caribbean households appeared to follow a more "typical" pattern premised on the authority of the male head, domestic relations among Afro-Caribbeans tended to revolve around women in their role as mothers.

Although the main features of familial life in the Caribbean were not disputed, there were numerous interpretations: were these survivals from Africa and India; were the "different" family types part of a single stratification system or did they fit into a plural society model of non-overlapping segments, each with its own internal evaluative system; were we simply witnessing the adaptation of family forms, particularly among the poor, to the exigencies of everyday life?<sup>3</sup>

While the various explanations may have differed in their reasons for the diversity of Caribbean familial life, they shared a common assumption that the domestic sphere was a naturally occurring and irrevocably feminine domain. Thus the bulk of this early work provides us with very little information on women outside their domestic roles (but see Cumper 1956). This was especially obvious in the reputation-respectability paradigm developed by Peter Wilson (1969), which argued that women were the repositories of Eurocentric respectability, manifested through their involvement in the churches, their emphasis on sexual propriety and marriage, and their identification with the household. In contrast, via their participation in male-dominated and public social networks, men attained prominence as part of an alternative value system that expressed an indigenous and oppositional counterculture. To be sure, one should not underestimate the pervasiveness of discourses of respectability in the Caribbean today – although it could be argued that Wilson did not adequately consider how such discourses would also enable the constitution of gendered, classed, *and* racialized differences.<sup>4</sup>

3. For a general overview of these various theoretical positions see Barrow 1996.

4. For an excellent critique of Wilson see Yelvington 1995:163-85.



The point is rather to make explicit the power relations through which such elaborations of meaning are made possible, as well as to recognize that they simply do not capture the myriad domains where women are to be found.

The starting point for researchers and policymakers alike, more explicit in some cases than in others, was that “normal” households necessarily consisted of a husband, wife, and children: Raymond Smith’s early work (1956: 69) posited, for example, that “household groups come into being when a man and a woman enter a conjugal union and set up home together.” The pervasive assumption of compulsory heterosexuality undergirding Caribbean kinship studies has, until fairly recently, resulted in overwhelming silence in the scholarship regarding sexual practices and relationships that did not conform to the dominant model (Alexander 1997; Wekker 1997; Kempadoo 2002).

Moreover, this emphasis on the nuclear family was based on the imposition of external criteria (in this case the supposed universality of the male breadwinner/dependent housewife) that would lead to “the habit of defining the Caribbean in terms of its resistance to the different methodologies summoned to investigate it” (Benítez-Rojo 1996:2). In this regard, the nuclear ideal always hovered in the shadows of discussions surrounding the – predominantly Afro-Caribbean – female-headed household. In this framing, it became symptomatic of lack, named variously as deviant, dis-integrated, denuded, and incomplete. It also paradoxically emblemized excess, in the form of the indefatigable matriarch. In this latter sense, Smith’s notion of matrifocality, derived from his study of an Afro-Guyanese rural community in the 1950s, became detached from its original usage, the centrality of women within the domestic domain in their role as mothers, and frequently (and wrongly) equated with female dominance (see Smith 1956; 1988; 1996).<sup>5</sup> This apparent prominence of Afro-Caribbean women in the home produced stereotypes in the literature of the strong, independent female and her obverse, the marginal Afro-Caribbean male (Mallett 1993).<sup>6</sup> Based on this reading, it was a simple step to portray Caribbean societies as matriarchal. Indo-Caribbeans, whose household patterns could more easily be fitted into the dominant model, presented less of a conceptual dilemma. The prevailing image here was of the submissive Indian housewife.

5. With the assumption that women should be homemakers, most efforts to explain the “deviation” of the Caribbean household from the nuclear family model are focused on various aspects of men’s inability to fulfill their breadwinner role: occupational insecurity, access to land, out-migration rates. The fact that women may have been involved in paid work, and the effect of this on household formation and dynamics, was rarely considered or given a central place in explanatory models.

6. The theme of male marginality has seen a revival, in a somewhat different form, emphasizing the victimization of the Afro-Caribbean man and linking this to advances made by women in educational and other sectors (Miller 1991). For discussion of questions of marginality and masculinity see Barriteau 2000 and Chevannes 2001.

One can trace these ideas across place, even in the construction of racialized populations that are not necessarily Caribbean. One obvious example is the Moynihan Report of 1965, which placed much of the blame for poverty among African-Americans in the United States at the doorstep of "disorganized" family life. In the British context, anthropologist Susan Benson has insightfully argued that whereas anthropology "came home" by turning to South Asian populations, sociology more frequently made black British communities the objects of its study. She sees this as relating to the stereotype that "Asians have culture, [black] West Indians have problems," hence a disciplinary and racialized divide between the study of culture and the study of criminality and deviance (Benson 1996). While gender is not the focal point of Benson's analysis, one can make the fairly straightforward connection through the implied assumptions about the "stability" (or lack thereof) of the family and its relationship to intergenerational cultural transmission (or disintegration). The overlaps with the Caribbean are significant. As Daniel Segal (1993) has also shown for Trinidad and Tobago, Indo-Caribbeans are represented in both colonial and anticolonial/nationalist narratives as culturally saturated, while their Afro-Caribbean counterparts are seen as deculturalized (see also Munasinghe 2001). Such discourses continue to resonate today, notwithstanding changes in marital and familial strategies, to the extent even that "actual ethnic distinctions in familial practice have drastically reduced" (Miller 1994:143; Trotz & Peake 2001).<sup>7</sup>

Lest we think that contemporary academic representations are exempt from rehearsing these tropes, a glance at some of the broader feminist literature makes us uncomfortably aware of our own implicatedness. In the field of gender and development, distinctions are frequently made between typical patriarchal households – in Asia and Latin America – and the weaker cohesiveness of the conjugal unit in the Caribbean (Kabeer 1994; MacEwen Scott 1994). Sylvia Chant and Lynne Brydon (1989:23) acknowledge intra-regional difference, but conclude that Indian women occupy "a less independent role than their black counterparts." In this example there is some recognition of the need to trace how specific modalities of power differentiate women across domestic spaces in the Caribbean, but difference itself remains fossilized as separateness, and the notion of submissive Indian women and autonomous black matriarchs remains uncontested.

Additionally, the tendency in some quarters – somewhat romantically, one could argue – to repackaging the black matriarch as the symbol of the resilience and survival spirit of African women in the diaspora could be seen to efface the daily struggles shouldered by women and the fact that in the face of harsh realities, many simply and literally do not survive. Drawing on her research among the Saramaka of Suriname to raise questions about

7. For a much earlier conclusion along these same lines, see Jayawardena 1963.

feminist ethnographic representations of menstrual rites, Sally Price (1994: 140) cautions us that

In the very right-headed attempt to redress the biases undeniably introduced into ethnographic reporting by the sexism of earlier anthropologists, we need to exercise special vigilance about the temptingly attractive, and sometimes quite powerful, ideological packages that contribute to the cultural fabric of our own moment.

Undoubtedly, feminists would hardly subscribe to the view of female immorality and irresponsibility that informed, say, the Moynihan Report. Yet what is disturbing is that these ideas sound remarkably consistent across disciplinary boundaries and over time. Dismantling these notions is not simply an intellectual exercise in reflexivity, for they have specific and material implications for the populations they construct, categorize, and pathologize.

For a start, we need to foreground the colonial origins of anthropological and sociological models of the Caribbean family, and the imperatives of governance that these representations served, from colonial times to the present.<sup>8</sup> Christine Barrow (1996:9) notes that the conclusions of the West India Royal Commission (1938-39), which assessed social and economic conditions in the British colonies, treated family life in the Caribbean as disorganized and inferior. T.S. Simey (1946) is a most direct example of this convergence of policy and scholarship – he was a colonial social welfare officer who authored a study pathologizing familial forms and practices. The task he envisioned was to correct such patterns of behavior. The Mass Marriage Movement in Jamaica in the mid-1940s was one such attempt to redraw the boundaries of acceptable conjugal relationships (Barrow 1996). Anne Macpherson (2003a) has shown how colonial reform in Belize in the 1930s also drew on the belief in “the degeneracy of black female sexuality and motherhood” and saw its project as one of making black women respectable. And while oppositional movements, such as the United Negro Improvement Association in Belize, challenged images of black womanhood as degenerate, they nevertheless continued to endorse Eurocentric ideals of female respectability (Macpherson 2003a).

In our contemporary moment, notions of the male breadwinner and dependent housewife continue to structure the labor market in ways that persistently disadvantage women and underestimate the extent of their contributions and responsibilities. Images of female sexual propriety and heteronormativity frame the positioning of female heads, gay men and women, and prostitutes as threats to the reproduction of the post-colonial Caribbean nation-state (Alexander 1997). In short, it seems fair

8. Thanks to the reviewer who pointed out the need to make this argument more explicit.

to say that hegemonic representations of families (as different, respectable, normal) are central to stratification processes and have contributed to the disempowerment of the vast majority of Caribbean peoples.

### BEYOND THE BOUNDARIES OF DOMESTICITY

Starting around the 1970s, feminist and other critiques of the earlier studies have responded to these representations of family life in a number of ways: to argue for the centrality of women in the forging of Caribbean culture; to map kinship and other social networks that necessarily exceed the physical boundaries of the household, the locality, and even the nation-state; to delineate women's engagement in paid and forms of unpaid labor both within and outside the domestic sphere; and to trace women's migratory trajectories and imbrication in transnational networks. Many of the earlier critiques tended to focus on rendering the contributions of women visible, perhaps best crystalized in the Women in the Caribbean Project (WICP) that conducted interviews among thousands of predominantly low-income, Afro-Caribbean women in the Anglophone region between 1979 and 1982. Although restricted to the experiences of a fairly homogeneous sample (in class, "race," and linguistic terms), this work began to name the barriers that women faced in the home and beyond. It raised central questions about assumptions that Caribbean societies were gender-neutral, gender-equal, or matriarchal. It challenged the sanctity of the private-public dichotomy. Finally, it laid the foundation for studies that would take the social relations of gender in the family not as a natural fact but rather as the subject of inquiry.<sup>9</sup>

Such a comprehensive survey has not, to my knowledge, yet been done for the non-English-speaking Caribbean, although Helen Safa (1995) has written a comparative study of export industrialization in Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic, in which she discusses gender relations in the family, the labor market and the state. For the Francophone Caribbean, Beverly Bell (2001) has recently published narratives of primarily low-income Haitian women across diverse sites. While Bell also articulates the centrality and meaning of family as expressed by the women, one significant difference between this study and the WICP project is the prominence given to the state and state-sponsored violence against women in the former, an important consideration that relates to the concerns of this essay. The question is one of relating these seemingly disconnected private and public domains.

9. The findings of the WICP were published in *Social and Economic Studies* (2 & 3, 1986) as well as a monograph series published by the University of the West Indies. See also Senior 1991.

That is to say, how does one make the conceptual leap over time, across levels of analysis and crisscrossing circuits of power, to demonstrate the relevance of the family as defined by the WICP for example, to the study of family in terms of colonial imperatives. And how does one make this leap to define and regulate the domestic lives of subordinated populations, communities' efforts to forge racialized allegiances that become based in metaphors of kinship, or the postcolonial nation-state, attempting to frame the terms of inclusion/exclusion via an array of kinship metaphors? In an incisive review article that holds great potential for feminist exploration of the relationships between the realms of the family, culture, and processes of nation-building in the Caribbean, Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1992) names three themes that mark the encounter between the Caribbean and an anthropology that until relatively recently had shown little interest in a region that was too Western, "all-contact" rather than precontact. The first is *heterogeneity*, which addresses the fact of difference as a starting point for the modern Caribbean, indeed for located feminisms.<sup>10</sup> The second is *historicity*, where he reminds us "that the groupings one tends to take for natural are human creations, changing results of past and ongoing processes" (Trouillot 1992: 33). Trouillot's final point, which has been central to feminist thought in the region, addresses intersecting scales of analysis, by referring us to the *nonbounded* nature of the spaces across which social relations and identities are constituted. Foregrounding the blurring of categories (the public-private being only the most obvious) enables us to envision how the domestic domain gestures towards broader conversations and flows that take place at the intersections of the local, national, regional, and transnational.

Pulling these themes together prompts us to move from thinking about difference as plurality, toward more fundamental considerations of how racialized difference is historically and geographically organized and produced across shifting fields of power, mediated through the constitution of contrasting domestic spaces vis-à-vis hegemonic public domains. For the purposes of this essay, it allows us to pose the following question: How has the family become important, as a site of contention, as a site of resistance and culture-building, and as a site of domesticated difference?

These issues are increasingly being addressed in historical and ethnographic research. Verena Martinez-Alier's (1974) seminal analysis of colonial Cuba, for example, distinctly elucidated how marriage laws based on the doctrine of purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*) were formulated to keep people in their "places," feeding into wider stratification systems based on gender, color, and class. For the Anglophone Caribbean, Smith has

10. This is in contrast to Western feminism, for which the starting point was a claim to universality that turned out to be based on very specific racialized and classed experiences.

elaborated upon the dual marriage system, in which higher-status men tend to marry social equals but maintain extramarital or "illegitimate" liaisons with lower-status women. This system is critical to apprehending the hidden dimensions of families and the ways in which these are constituted by, and constitutive of, broader structures of class, gender, and racial power (Smith 1988, 1996). Raymond Smith's work reveals how "illegitimate" relationships (often construed in scholarly debates as integral to female-headedness and matrifocality), far from being a correlate of poverty, permeate all levels of society. Such informal liaisons were accommodated under both slavery and indentureship. For a start, marriage was a cultural marker of whiteness in the colonial hierarchy – legal marriage was for the most part denied to slaves, while marriages among indentured laborers according to customary Hindu and Muslim rites were not officially recognized. Additionally, upper-status white men – and not women – frequently engaged in extramarital liaisons with lower-status women.<sup>11</sup> Bringing such relationships within the ambit of respectability through marriage would have signaled a clear threat to the highly restrictive corridors of power and privilege; thus, only by ensuring that such relationships remained illegitimate could a racialized class structure be maintained.

Today the dual marriage system remains a structuring principle of subordination in class-stratified Caribbean society (Smith 1988, 1996). That working-class families, and Afro-Caribbean families in particular, are decried as exclusively practicing nonlegalized relationships, and that women are the ones labeled as sexually promiscuous, speaks to social power and the ability to define normality while rendering invisible the ways in which such apparently deviant practices are common throughout the Caribbean.<sup>12</sup> The dual marriage system, then, keeps intact what Brackette Williams (1991) refers to as the shadow of Anglo-European hegemony in the postcolonial nation-state: the nuclear family (based on monogamous marriage, female sexual propriety, the housewife and male breadwinner) as a standard to be aspired to and attained as a marker of success and mobility. Implicit in all these models of domesticity, although not centrally discussed, is how women are positioned – and position themselves – vis-à-vis the labor market.

11. For a literary account of the complex power relations involving such sexual encounters from the perspectives of two women – one Indian and one African – on a nineteenth-century Guyanese sugar estate see Dabydeen 1996.

12. Douglass (1992) has examined the ideology and practices of elite families, emphasizing how sentiments like love are socially constructed and shape marriage practices that largely reinforce hierarchical class and gender relationships in Jamaican society. On the other hand, the extent to which such dominant norms can, and have been, challenged has been shown for such countries as Antigua, where understandings and kinship practices among the "common order" eventually found their way into state legislation relating to family law (Lazarus-Black 1994).

In a thought-provoking article, Williams (1996) takes the discussion one step further, by exploring how constructions of the family seep into nationalist discourse and claims on the nation-state in contemporary Guyanese society. Sedimented in practices of domesticity are conceptions of difference, not just between women and men, but importantly among racialized groups and across class divides. For men, this is played out in particular ways, since “the field of masculine gender identity is also the field of racio-ethnic competition” (Williams 1996:154). Men draw on historically-constructed stereotypes (pertaining to the labor market, use of public space, and leisure time, for instance) to evaluate their and other’s actions. Thus African-Guyanese men consider how they “can be good *male-the-providers* without becoming the *whitemen* of the past or the *coolies* of today” (Williams 1996:148). In this context, it is “men [who] struggle to give birth to cultures that will advance to become superior foundations for a nation-state which, it is assumed, will ensure the future of a race” (Williams 1996:154).

This formulation makes an excellent and explicit link between so-called public and private spheres, between the family as homespace and the family as nationspace. It also raises a number of questions. Who are the individuals who actually give birth? How does men’s performance of their gendered and racialized identities rely for their success on the disciplining of “their” women’s bodies, or even on the violation of the bodies of “other” women? How do these performances challenge or re-enact colonial inscriptions of difference? What are women’s investments in this process? I would suggest that it is partly because *women’s* labor and the racialized stereotypes that are used to explain female labor market stratification are relatively absent from the equation, that men seem more preoccupied with the racial reproduction of cultures. Women also actively participate in the consolidation of racialized difference (Peake & Trotz 1999), and while this is played out at one level in the family, the construction of familial structures and responsibilities is inextricably linked to men’s *and* women’s activities beyond what comes to be seen as the domestic.

The remainder of this paper attempts to indicate how we might begin to address these questions, focusing by way of example on shifting colonial representations of women and the family in pre- and postindentureship Guyana. I draw here on Trouillot’s framework in order to historicize and undomesticate the family, and extend Williams’s valuable commentary on the cultural politics of domesticity to consider how the location and representation of *women’s* labor is integrally implicated in the inscription of racialized difference that would come to be peddled as timeless tradition, reproduced in culturally familiar and familial spaces.

### HISTORICAL INTERSECTIONS AND THE PRODUCTION OF DIFFERENCE

The abolition of slavery saw efforts by ex-slaves in British Guiana to purchase land that would afford them greater autonomy from the sugar plantations. Villages were established on such a scale that one historian would later write of "the most spectacular village movement in the history of the people of the British Caribbean" (Farley 1954:100). The village movement was potentially disastrous for the plantation system, as it threatened to undermine the monopsony previously enjoyed by planters in the labor market. Accordingly, the government introduced a series of legislative measures designed to halt land sales and cripple the autonomy of the villagers in the management of their own affairs (Adamson 1972; Rodney 1981). The inability to reimpose hegemonic control over the labor force also precipitated the search for substitute sources of labor, from China, Portugal, and India, under indentured contracts. The first group of indentured workers from India was brought to the colony in 1838. Following early interruptions, importation proceeded relatively uninterrupted between 1851 and 1917, with well over 200,000 Indians arriving in British Guiana, bound by contract to work at pre-determined wage levels for a period of five years (Look-Lai 1993:108). Throughout the period of indentureship, there was a marked imbalance in the sex-ratio. Supply-side explanations stressed such factors as the forces of tradition and the reluctance of single women to travel (Mangru 1987). More recent research has examined the pivotal role played by the colonial state in conjunction with planters in creating a highly gendered definition of and demand for "able-bodied" labor (Mohapatra 1995; see Reddock 1985 for Trinidad). On the estates, women ranged from a low of 11.3 percent of the indentured population in 1851 to a high of 61.5 percent in 1858. Significantly, the proportion of women to men was far higher among ex-indentured laborers resident on the estates (Moore 1991).<sup>13</sup> On the whole, the numbers of women and men did not equalize until the post-1917 years.

One need only look at the historical record to displace contemporary scholarly and popular representations of Indo-Caribbean women as submissive housewives and Afro-Caribbean women as working matriarchs.

13. See also the annual reports of the Immigration Agent-General: *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Treatment Papers of the Royal Commission of Immigrants in British Guiana 1870-1871* (1871), *Report and Papers of the Royal Commission on the West Indian Sugar Industry* (Norman Commission 1898), *Report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates* (Sanderson Commission 1910), *Report on the Condition of Indian Immigrants in the Four British Colonies (Trinidad, British Guiana & Demerara, Jamaica and Fiji)*, and in *the Dutch Colony of Surinam or Dutch Guiana* (McNeill-Lal Report 1915).



Women who arrived in British Guiana as African slaves and Indian indentured laborers were defined and valued in relation to their productivity as laborers and not as dependent members of a family unit. To give one example from indentureship, in response to a colonial office circular requesting responses to the Immigration Ordinance of 1854, a stipendiary magistrate in Guiana claimed that

the agent at Calcutta ... assured me that the indenturing of the women was a breach of the engagement he entered into with their husbands at Calcutta, for they were distinctly informed that the women would not be compelled to work in Guiana.<sup>14</sup>

This provoked a detailed rebuttal by the Acting Government Secretary, who declared that he did not

apprehend there could be much difference whether there was a contract to work, as at present, or only to reside where the husband was located, as the jealousy of the husband would compel the wife's presence in the field, and when there, the inclination of both would lead to the profitable use of her time.<sup>15</sup>

If indentured duties and the proprietary "natures" of Indian men could so easily result in the same thing, namely women working in fields, why did the colonial state have to go to the length and expense of securing contracts for women? Perhaps the planters could not rely on what they presumed to be the temperament of Indian men, but there was a more fundamental dynamic at work. Intracommunity – in this case male-female – relations had to be replaced by the institutionalization of a direct contract between estates and individuals. The prevailing logic of the sugar plantations required that the households and familial arrangements of indentured workers be denied any role in decisions concerning the disposal of labor power.

This example suggests how domesticity was a racialized and classed privilege in the Caribbean context. Here we also see how some Western feminist contentions that the family is the principal site of women's oppression have little purchase for Caribbean women of color in the years of unfreedom, where women's and men's struggles for humanity were integrally associated with carving an autonomous space beyond the reach of the plantation and with creating families and communities under extremely hostile conditions.

14. Parliamentary Papers 1859, vol. XX, Session 2, Correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Governors of the West Indian Colonies and the Mauritius, encl. 4 in no. 39, Carbery to Govt. Secty. Walker, 9 January 1858.

15. PP 1859, vol. XX, Session 2, Correspondence, encl. 8 in no. 39, Gardiner Austin to Walker, 19 April 1858.

It is this more nuanced understanding that informs Bridget Brereton's (1999) overview of the shift to wage labor among Afro-Caribbeans in the postemancipation British Caribbean and the familial dynamics that went into decisions regarding who should offer their labor for sale to the estates. Notwithstanding opposition from some planters, the immediate post-slavery period witnessed a withdrawal of many women from estate work. Brereton offers two possible explanations for this trend. Gender inequality in the postemancipation period manifested itself in the differential wages earned among the newly emergent agricultural working class. On the one hand, estate wages were critical for household subsistence, but the budding peasant economy in the region also relied on labor, necessitating a rational economic decision in which those who earned the least – women, children, the aged – tended to retire from the estate first (although women often continued marketing their goods, a tradition that started under slavery and continues to this day). Brereton also asks us to consider how women became centrally involved in the recreation of communities and families, and how this strategy of cultural politics and resistance to planter interference into the private domain tapped into processes of class stratification that would come to define "respectable" women as nonworking.

At any rate, the withdrawal of black women into the home sphere was never complete. In British Guiana, the sabotaging of the village movement led to a massive out-migration of men to the hinterland areas, and women and men to urban centers in search of work (Rodney 1981; Trotz & Peake 2001). That black women have had a continuous presence in the paid workforce, and that they do not see motherhood and employment as incompatible activities, is rooted in these historical conditions of exploitation and resistance. At the same time, such realities did little to shake the view that women were secondary breadwinners and dependent on men, enshrining a normative vision of female morality that continues to permeate all strata of society.

One can also trace linkages between shifts in the experiences of the indentured Indian community and the location and representation of women's labor. As Prabhu Mohapatra (1995) convincingly demonstrates, the sexuality of Indian women was a constant source of anxiety, its control a critical element of the apparatus of colonial management. To be sure, the relative shortage of Indian women, along with the fact that they were earning a wage, provided a basis for some renegotiations of gender relations within the indentured community in Guiana (Mohapatra 1995; Moore 1991). However, the emphasis on female social, economic, and sexual agency should not be overstated. Wage disparities placed clear limits on female economic autonomy. Male violence against women was also very visible and extreme. Between 1859 and 1907, 87 women were reported killed on the estates, while between 1886 to 1890 alone, some thirty-five cases of women chopped with estate implements were reported (Mangru 1987:217).

Official explanations revolved around notions of female propriety to explain both the disproportionate sex-ratio (respectable women did not emigrate from India) and the violence perpetrated against Indian women by Indian men. In colonial explanations of the phenomenon of woman murder, we see an overwhelming obsession with inscribing women's bodies with a racialized sexuality that had to be controlled if the labor force was to be successfully regulated: while men remained wedded to their "traditional cultural" ideas of superiority, it was disreputable and immoral women who became further emboldened under indentureship, who rebelled against their subordination to Indian men, and who ultimately paid for it with their lives.<sup>16</sup> The manner of their rebellion was represented in colonial terms as a display of moral laxity; according to this logic, women could not escape responsibility for their own demise. Mohapatra (1995) argues that such explanations permitted an effacement of the brutality inherent in the system itself. By expunging its role in the production of violence against women, the colonial state was able to project itself as the benevolent protector of the Indian community *from itself*: protecting Indian men from promiscuous Indian women and protecting Indian women from the violent proclivities of Indian men through the enactment of various pieces of legislation, all of which located the principal causes of woman murders in female sexuality.

Indian women's sexuality was also an issue in the matter of sexual relationships between women and overseers. Concern was expressed over the possibility of threats to production – indeed it is only under these circumstance that we are afforded glimpses, and then only briefly, into these practices.<sup>17</sup> Given the sex-ratio disparity and the relative infrequency of interracial relations with other subordinate groups, such arrangements were bound to create disquiet within the indentured community, as Indian men's attempts to retain some degree of cultural autonomy (represented through efforts to institute control over women's sexuality) clashed with managerial assumptions of privileged access to the bodies of Indian women.

An inquiry set up in 1870-71 in the wake of problems on the Leonora estate and the allegations of widespread abuse made by a past magistrate,

16. See for example Kirke (1898) Chapters X and XIII; Archdeacon Josa (1913). To be sure, masculinity was also framed in culturalized and racialized ways: it was Indian men who were constructed as culture-bound and prone to extreme acts of violence (see Mohapatra 1995 for an excellent discussion).

17. Kelly notes that in Fiji, with the exception of some police interventions to put down trouble, knowledge of overseer involvement with women was largely restricted to gossip and did not appear to "permeate the colonial social hierarchy" (Kelly 1991:39). In contrast, the subject of concubinage between white overseers and Indian women appears in at least three official inquiries into the sugar industry in British Guiana, in 1871, 1898, and 1910, although the impression one gets from this material – that it is informally dealt with – remains the same.

admitted that there was evidence to suggest that the existence of "immoral relations" between estate managers and Indian women may have been one of the sources of dissatisfaction. It went on to comment:

when it is remembered that any female above childhood is already the actual wife or partner of [an Indian man], it is evident that no surer way could be found of sowing the seeds of discontent and riot. The husband must be conciliated – he is made a driver; after a time the woman must be got rid of; someone must be found to take charge of her.<sup>18</sup>

This quotation is revealing in its objectification of Indian women as dispensable, and the production process, which clearly was not.

Notwithstanding early acknowledgement of the situation, interracial unions and the opposition of the male indentured community appear to have persisted throughout the period of indentureship. In 1896 a disturbance at plantation Non Pareil, which resulted in the fatal shooting of Indian laborers, was sparked by a wage dispute; however, it was common knowledge that the wife of one of the dead workers had been living with the manager (Seecharran 1999:35-37). Two years later Bechu, an indentured laborer, testified before yet another Royal Commission that "[i]t is an open secret that coolie women are in the keeping of overseers ... this is another ground for discontent and sometimes leads to riots, yet immigration agents close their eyes to the matter."<sup>19</sup> In 1910 the Sanderson Commission identified a case which came to the attention of the authorities after a libel action was taken out against a manager who reported that a recently appointed overseer had previously been dismissed for "immoral relations" with an Indian woman.<sup>20</sup> The figure of the seductive Indian female was frequently juxtaposed with the defenseless overseers whose crime lay in their naïveté. One witness to the Sanderson Commission of 1910 set up to report on emigration from India stated that "it was all very well to blame the men; they are after all human, and you do not know how oftentimes some of these coolie women take a fancy to an overseer, and simply pester his life out."<sup>21</sup> Such representations left Indian women responsible for the fact, and therefore the consequences, of such acts, a move that ultimately denied the existence of sexual abuse.

It was only in the closing years of indentureship that the "housewife" would become the dominant motif deployed to describe the place of Indian women as settlers in British Guiana (Mohapatra 1995; Trotz & Peake 2000).

18. PP 1871, vol. XX (C.393), Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the treatment of Immigrants in British Guiana 1870-1871, para. 309.

19. PP 1898, vol. L (C. 8657), Royal Commission, Pt. II, statement of Bechu, no. 158.

20. PP 1898, vol. L (C. 8657), Royal Commission, Pt. II, statement of Bechu, no. 158.

21. PP 1910, vol. XXVII (Cd. 5192) Sanderson Commission on Emigration from India to Crown Colonies and Protectorates, Pt. I, para. 3050.

This accompanied the restructuring of the sugar industry in British Guiana and the labor regime on which production depended. If labor importation was the principal means through which sugar production was guaranteed up to the last decade or so of the nineteenth century, local reproduction of the labor force became a central consideration in the final years of indentureship and thereafter. Access to land off the estates was critical to this new emphasis on settlement. Initial attempts to create "East Indian settlements" through land grants in areas chosen by the government were followed by liberalization of the restrictive land laws originally designed to cripple the nascent black peasantry. However, sugar's survival depended not on the growth of a viable and independent peasant sector, but rather on the creation of family units that would remain tied to waged work on the estates, supplementing both the low earnings of indentureds as well as the irregular returns of the nonresident casual workforce (Potter 1982; Mangru 1993).

The new belief that small plots based on family labor, yet dependent on estate employment, were going to be integral to the future survival of the sugar industry, had significant implications for the position of women. Given colonial perceptions that immigrant Indian women symbolized the antithesis of family life, such a change had to be carefully controlled (Mohapatra 1995). As one commentator put it, "it would be undesirable to abolish female indentures, for they would never learn to work. Having been initiated into work, their husbands may be trusted not to allow them to remain idle" (Comins 1893:37). It is perhaps not inappropriate to see in this argument some remnants of the ideological underpinnings of the "civilizing" effects of the postslavery apprenticeship system. Indian women would learn how to be industrious workers and dutiful wives and mothers, disciplined first by the estate regiment and then by their husbands.

As Mohapatra (1995) has shown, the ideological reconstruction of the household as a private space in which Indian women would be subordinate to their husbands was accompanied by intense regulation of the family by the colonial authorities in the closing years of the nineteenth century, largely through the development of marriage laws that were premised on curbing the sexuality of Indian women and punishing women who deserted the marital home. The new emphasis on Indian women as housewives was not seamless, and immediate female retirement from the workforce was certainly not envisioned by the planters. To be sure, few women could afford *not* to work given prevailing wage levels. Moreover, faced with some women withdrawing from work in the field, just as many black women had done after slavery, some planters went so far as to propose imposing a fine on every husband resident on the estate whose wife did not work, arguing that this would cover the woman's portion of the rent for the house provided by the estate (Shahabuddeen 1983:192). Through the investment of their labor

in waged employment, the domestic unit, and the family plot, Indian women were expected to provide a critical subsidy to male wages.

Yet by the time indentureship came to an end in 1917, the household had clearly begun to assume precedence over estate work for many women. Substantial wage disparities between women and men persisted alongside high levels of female absenteeism from employment and scattered reports that planters were no longer pressuring women to work.<sup>22</sup> It is no accident that after 1917, continued discussions on providing incentives for migration to British Guiana identified families, and not individuals, as potential recruits for free settlement. In 1919, a colonization committee was appointed to investigate the question of immigration from India. In 1926, a scheme was proposed by the Indian government that was never taken up owing to the anticipated financial costs for British Guiana (Bisnauth 2000). This new discourse on settlements based on the family did not dislodge the reality of the exploitation of women, but simply shifted the spatial sites through which their subordination would now be mediated. By creating for itself a role as the redemptive agent of Indian womanhood, the colonial state was able to represent the Indian woman's body as a site where the problems generated by indentureship could be located and later, as a surface for inscribing new relations of control through land settlement in the postindentureship period.

An additional consideration relates to the types of contrasts that were being made, both explicitly and implicitly, with other racialized groups and in particular with African women.<sup>23</sup> Once again, wider conditions that impinged on life in British Guiana hardly figured in official explanations of the actions of subordinates. Where they did, as in the case of the ex-slave population, it was in fact the *absence* of the discipline and civilizing effect of the plantation regime that was seen as resulting in their degeneration. Explaining the continued need for indentureship, it was claimed that

The answer is to be found in the astonishing laziness, apathy and improvidence which have grown on the negros since they have been freed from the control which was so essential to their improvement, progress, and to the maintenance of industrious habits. (Comins 1893:5)

For the indentured community, which had arrived into a situation in which the contours of social stratification had already been laid out, the referent was India. This made it possible to talk about Indians – regardless of the diversity

22. See the *Report on the Condition of Indian Immigrants in the Four British Colonies (Trinidad, British Guiana & Demerara, Jamaica and Fiji, and in the Dutch Colony of Surinam or Dutch Guiana)*. McNeill-Lal Report 1915.

23. Smith (1996:5) makes the point that it is important to consider how racialized identities are partly "defined in contrastive relation to each other."

of their backgrounds – and distinguish them from other groups on the ground. It sprang from the colonial state's disavowal of local circumstances as a factor behind the actions of laborers. Any admission to the contrary would not only have cast aspersions on the system of indentureship, but would have required acknowledging that Indian women often resembled African women in their responses to the situations confronting them. Instead, the overwhelming tendency was to locate the origin of behavior in the bazaars of India or even in certain regions. For example northern Indian women were sometimes identified as the greatest troublemakers – as being “bold, chaste and unfaithful” in contrast to the “peaceful and law abiding” southerners (Bronkhurst 1888:144-45).

Distinction was also largely constituted through the racialization of place in British Guiana. After all, indentureship was intended as a response to and replacement for disobedient African labor. The factories were the initial exception, but here it was men and not women who were predominantly employed (Rodney 1981). In 1871, African women normally cleaned out the sugar mills; ten years later, they were being replaced by Indian women (Moore 1970:179). Growing stagnation in the villages led many African women to migrate to the city in search of work, where they constituted the majority of the urban population at the turn of the century (Rodney 1981).

The newly emerging division of labor along racialized lines masked the specific insertion of both groups in the colonial economy (Williams 1991). Differences and the conditions that historically produced them became signifiers of an unchanging ethnic identity. Africans were constituted in colonial discourse as lazy and undisciplined while Indians, although volatile, worked hard and could be relied upon. Settlement schemes for the ex-indentured community were construed in similar terms – small-scale peasant production was increasingly described as entirely natural for Indians and rice-growing as an ancestral skill. Again, this effaced the radically different circumstances that had faced ex-slaves in the post-abolition years. Land distribution among ex-indentureds was now a method of maintaining sugar production at acceptable levels, but it was also a marker of racial differentiation (underpinned by the carving out of separate spaces) consciously manipulated by the state.

At the level of the household, low rates of intermarriage between Africans and Indians were seized upon as evidence of the mutual and natural antipathy that existed between the two groups. By the end of the nineteenth century, and at the point at which the domestication of Indian female labor became a critical strategy, it was the independence of black women compared with the subservience of their Indian counterparts, now projected as immutable cultural essences, which frequently became the explanatory factor behind Indian men seeking partners only from within their community:

The coolie woman is respectful to her husband, and a negro woman will knock him down. A [coolie] woman waits upon him at the table, and a negress sits down with him. They are totally different people; they do not intermix. That is, of course, one of our great safeties in the colony when there has been any rioting.<sup>24</sup>

Here we see most clearly the emergence of the contrasting and ahistorical stereotypes of the submissive Indian housewife and the independent black matriarch (the same images, as I noted earlier, which would be repeated and reified in academic circles). The Indian woman's place was now within the home, her labor reserved for the family plot. The household offered a powerful symbol of racialized sexual difference between Africans and Indians, framed as evidence of irrevocable cultural predispositions. More importantly it provided a way of reducing difference to the domestic space, an attempt to define it as a matter of culture, a "private" conflict purely between subordinates. As has been argued elsewhere,

these stereotypes erased the specificity of the colonial legacy, deflecting attention away from those women who did not "fit" as well as from an examination of how cultural practices around kinship and the family were forged in the crucible of colonial rule and gendered and racialised subordination. (Peake & Trotz 1999:51)

#### THE DOMESTICATION OF DIFFERENCE: MORE QUESTIONS THAN ANSWERS?

This paper, by focusing on shifting colonial discourses, has attempted to offer some examples of how racialized difference comes historically to be refracted through the prism of the domestic; in effect, how family becomes racial ontology. In doing so I have hopefully made a case for denaturalizing and "dedomesticating" the family beyond a narrow focus on gendered and generational hierarchies, a move that reveals what studies of "families" might contribute to our comprehension of "larger" political questions and in particular to the racial impasse that countries like Guyana currently face.

Undoubtedly, there is much to be done to unravel the interlocking sequence of events described above. It is important to trace how women and men in daily life responded to, helped shape, and opposed colonial imperatives and desires (see Mohammed 1994 for a detailed account of gender dynamics among the ex-indentured community in Trinidad and Tobago). For instance, Mohapatra (1995) posits that the legalization of customary Hindu and Muslim marriages in Guiana was a critical point of cultural struggle for the

24. PP 1898, vol. L (C. 8656), Royal Commission, Appendix C, vol. I, evidence of M.J.E. Tinne, 4 January 1897, q. 1082.



Indian population, but did not challenge the notion of “unfaithful wives” and the traces of violence embedded in the original marriage laws.

Some of the questions we need to ask include the following: What were communities’ visions of households/families? How did racialized struggles for self-definition and self-recognition invoke other rhetorics of exclusion – of women, of others within (for instance unmarried women, women who crossed racialized divisions in their personal relationships, lesbian women) and others without (women from other racialized groups)? How did the trade-offs engaged in by women (for example by withdrawing their labor from the estates and investing in the home and family plot) encode the domestic space as specifically feminine, as private, and as the origin site of cultural difference and reproduction? What were the “origin myths” (Macpherson 2003b) of early anticolonial and nationalist struggles in the region, and how did these draw on and contribute to the reification of notions of women and families, women in families, and different women in different families?<sup>25</sup> Where can we find the traces of the colonialist rhetoric outlined above in our contemporary moment (at the levels of the state, the community, the family), and what have been the consequences for women?<sup>26</sup>

Finally, the possibility and optimism of spirit to move beyond these crippling representations and their effects reside in the fact that “real” women are never wholly contained by the categories that are meant to enclose them. While this paper has not addressed the histories and implications of such hybrid or *douglarized* spaces, locating such tensions is crucial for revealing how racialized anxieties become displaced onto women’s bodies (imagined as the vessels for the reproduction of pure boundaries) and thus work to police and regulate women’s sexuality.<sup>27</sup> Such tensions, however,

25. There is now an emerging body of scholarship on gendered dimensions of anti-colonial and nationalist struggles in the Anglophone Caribbean (Lewis 2000), Belize and Puerto Rico (Suárez Findlay 1999; Macpherson 2003b), Haiti (Sheller 1997) and the Dominican Republic (Martínez Vergne 2001). Macpherson demonstrates how nineteenth-century political origin myths in Belize, preoccupied with keeping miscegenation outside the boundaries of the legitimate and the acceptable, erased the presence of women of color, enslaved and free, and their links (as mothers) to an emergent creole middle class. Martínez Vergne’s study of early twentieth-century Dominican national discourse reveals the limits of citizenship and belonging, as white elite men represented bourgeois women as dependents charged with the responsibility of reproducing the boundaries of the Dominican nation while dismissing the contributions of non-elite women.

26. For some recent discussions in relation to this question see Niranjana (1997) and Munasinghe (2001).

27. *Dougla* refers to a child of African and Indian parentage; see Segal (1993) for an extensive treatment of miscegenation across these two racialized groups in pre-independence Trinidad and Tobago. For discussions of gender and hybridity in the Caribbean context (Belize and Trinidad), see Niranjana (1997), Puri (1999), Reddock (1999), and Macpherson (2003b).

are also critical for the elaboration of a feminist politics in the Caribbean that explicitly acknowledges the historical damage of thinking of difference in this way, and that harnesses women's specific, overlapping, and often transgressive experiences to an agenda for social justice that does not adhere to the boundaries of "race."

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CHARLES REAVIS PRICE

“CLEAVE TO THE BLACK”:  
EXPRESSIONS OF ETHIOPIANISM IN JAMAICA

It is said that he is the God of the white man and not of the black. This is horrible blasphemy – a *lie* from the pit that is bottomless ... Murmur not against the Lord on account of the cruelty and injustice of man. His almighty arm is already stretched out against slavery – against every man, every constitution, and every union that upholds it. His avenging chariot is now moving over the bloody fields of the doomed south ... Soon slavery shall sink like Pharaoh ... O God ... We are poor, helpless, unarmed, despised. Is it not time for thee to hear the cry of the needy ... to break in pieces the oppressor [Alexander Payne].<sup>1</sup>

INTRODUCTION

Ethiopianism has provided a racial, religious, and moral framework for comprehending and criticizing history, the social world, and especially racial and economic inequalities. It originated under the slavery regime in pre-revolutionary America, and subsequently spread into the Caribbean, Europe, and Africa. It is in Jamaica, however, where Ethiopianism grew its deepest roots, as the isle has given birth to many pro-Black and pro-African groups. These identifications have existed uneasily within a predominantly Black<sup>2</sup>

1. “An Open Letter to the Colored People of the United States,” written in 1862 by the African-American minister, Payne. A reprint is in Moses 1996:215-17.

2. By using the term “Black people” I risk being accused of essentializing a multifarious category of people, even those within the same national boundaries. Definitions of racial designation, inclusion, and identity change, and meanings involving Black nationalism have always been contested. Even though “Black” as a racial definition gained its widest prevalence as a result of the Black Power movements in America and Jamaica, it retains currency within civil society if not academia. Moreover, in the parlance of Ethiopianists and Black nationalists it has greater vintage and currency. Thus I ask readers to bear in mind that I am aware of the complexities surrounding the term “Black people.” Also, I capitalize racial terms except where I use direct quotes that use lower-case spellings of these terms.

society prone to appropriate American and British law, culture, and values. Still, Ethiopianism served as a pole around which many "new" social groups erected their ideologies. By ideology I mean beliefs and consciousness that can inform action (see Fredrickson 1995:8).

Drawing upon primary and secondary materials and oral testimonies, this article seeks to illustrate the ideological and thematic content and manifestations of Ethiopianism, focusing on Jamaica and on three groups that embody it: Alexander Bedward and his followers, Marcus Garvey and the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), and the early Rastafarians. While each group varies in its origins, constituency, and relationship to the wider society, a common thread running between them is a morally-rooted sense of Black identity and Black redemption contrasted to their view of White society and institutions as oppressive and wicked. These groups' activities became intertwined in local (and sometimes national) political and social struggles regarding issues such as employment, wages, taxation, colonial policies, allegiance to the Crown government, and White monopoly of opportunities. Participants in these groups frequently had overlapping affiliations, pointing to the diversity of Ethiopianist-oriented ideas and their general appeal to the Black proletariat, lumpenproletariat, and petty bourgeoisie. For example, some Bedwardites and Garveyites became Rastafarians and some Rastafarians could be called Garveyites. Leaders like Alexander Bedward, Leonard Howell, and Marcus Garvey did not rely exclusively on their charisma to garner support. Rather, their shrewdness lay in the mobilization of desires and extant (albeit sometimes latent) discontent around familiar and appealing ideas and practices.

First, I discuss Ethiopianism and how it manifested itself in various parts of the world. My aim is to distill its major themes and concerns in order to provide context for its manifestation among the different groups discussed. Therefore, this part of the discussion does not emphasize detailing the extent to which Ethiopianism changed between the late 1700s through the early 1900s, but neither does it elide variations. Next, I outline three twentieth-century expressions of Ethiopianism in Jamaica. Here I seek to show how Ethiopianist ideology manifested itself in practice in varying ways. The Bedward, Garvey, and early Rastafari movements illustrate the connections between religion, race, and social action in Jamaica. As the social and political climate changed, so too did interpretations and manifestations of Ethiopianism. It began as a critique of slavery and the denigration of Blackness, then took on anticolonial forms after emancipation (or in colonized territories, like in Africa), and eventually, in Jamaica, developed anti-establishment and anticapitalism orientations under the direction of the dreadlocked factions of the Rastafari.



## THE ORIGINS AND TENETS OF ETHIOPIANISM

Ethiopianism began as an apocalyptic ideology widely infused with millenarian and messianic rhetoric. Its project has centered around essentializing Black identity as a cluster of core essences. Almost from the start it exhibited two ostensibly conflicting tendencies. One is a tendency that George M. Fredrickson (1995:69-72) refers to as "romantic racialism." This perspective sees Africans and Blacks in general as having special qualities that differentiate them from other races, especially Whites. In this view Africans are spiritual, close to nature and God, communal, capable of industriousness (in the form of self-help), even in a "foreign," wicked land. As the Rastafarians often note, "we are a peculiar people." For these Ethiopianists especially, and more symbolically for the later secular-leaning Ethiopianists, the hand of God (a Black God in many accounts), is expected to deliver them from oppression. Whites are viewed in contrast: aggressive, individualistic, and scornful of God. Slavery, in the view of Ethiopianists, is a cardinal sin, exacerbated by the Whites hypocritically calling themselves civilized Christians.

The view of Blacks as "special" and "different" is often associated with separatism of varying forms, ranging from desires of Blacks to have their own territory within White society, to aspirations to leave America completely. This tendency is also compatible with later calls for "Black man's government." The conflicting tendency is an admiration of European civilization and achievements alongside burning contempt for White oppression. Thus proponents of Ethiopianism could deliver an incendiary message to Blacks and a moderate or accommodating one to Whites. This contradiction does not manifest itself among all Ethiopianist-oriented groups, but it should be noted that where it does occur, it may be related to pragmatic concerns that may not be obvious.

By the mid to late 1800s Ethiopianism was more thoroughly developed by Black intellectuals, who can also be called Black nationalists, notably Henry Highland Garnet, Martin Delaney, Edward Blyden, and Alexander Crummell.<sup>3</sup> They made it intellectually acceptable as opposed to chiefly emotive. Delany and Blyden can be attributed with developing a more secular version oriented toward a pragmatic self-help program, combined with a repatriation to Africa program. Highland and Crummell promoted more religiously-oriented Ethiopianism (Highland's work preceded Crummell). These Ethiopianist developments are primarily associated with America, even though these men and others are associated with the African diaspora. Henry Garnet traveled to England and Jamaica; Blyden hailed

3. For general discussions of these figures see Drake 1970; Moses 1978, 1996; Fredrickson 1995.

from the Virgin Islands and lived in Liberia; Crummell also lived in Liberia; and Delaney explored West Africa in search of settlement for Blacks from the West.

The travel and infusion of Ethiopianist ideas in different places, notably Jamaica and South Africa, resulted in its developing differently, as we shall see. In Jamaica, I suggest, the intellectualized versions of Ethiopianism do not become influential before Garvey's development of the United Negro Improvement Association there, although Robert Love, a forerunner to Garvey, is associated with a sophisticated and intellectual Ethiopianism that had some influence upon Garvey (Lewis 1987). Before their influence, nonscholar preachers, healers, and international travelers were bearers of Ethiopianism. The forms that Ethiopianism took there had more in common with the Ethiopianism of Prince Hall, David Walker, and Robert Young than of Blyden and Crummell. This may be because the first likely transporters of Ethiopianism to Jamaica were Black preachers from America soon after the revolutionary war, contemporary with Prince Hall and others. Yet, it cannot be ignored that Henry Garnet visited Jamaica as a missionary between 1853 and 1855, and the extent of his influence has yet to be thoroughly fathomed.

George Shepperson (1968:249) points out that the 1611 issue of the King James Version of the Holy Bible (hereafter referred to as the Bible) was translated from Hebrew and Greek into English, and that a standard convention of the time was the usage of "Ethiopian" to mean "Black people."<sup>4</sup> This general usage of "Ethiopia" encompassed the lands and peoples of sub-Saharan Africa and the Kingdom of Abyssinia. It was not uncommon for White abolitionists in America and England to apply the term "Ethiopian" to the slaves (Moses 1978:23). As slaves learned Biblical lore and engaged in critiques of slavery, they came to define themselves as Ethiopians, identifying with Biblical history and figures. Over time the definitions and usages of Ethiopianism became more complex and sophisticated, and hence more diverse, reflecting changing sociopolitical conditions and shifting ideas about racial identity and citizenship.<sup>5</sup> Nonetheless, certain themes

4. Shepperson (1968:249) divides Ethiopianism into four eras: 1) 1611-1871, 2) 1872-1928, 3) 1929-63, and 4) post-1963. But since he does this in the context of Ethiopianism in Africa, I do not use his periodization, although the first two eras are applicable to the Western hemisphere, especially Jamaica.

5. William Scott (1978) argues that Black people in the United States moved from Ethiopian to more neutral identifications like "Negro" and "Colored" as a result of debates about whether they should remain in the United States or remove to Africa. Those who felt, for whatever reasons, that they should remain in the United States (and there were many), argued that they should assert their American nationality by abandoning the customary self-definitions African and Ethiopian. As Scott (1978:6) has argued, most Blacks stopped defining themselves as African and Ethiopian in favor of "colored" around the 1830s.

maintained continuity, all of which cannot be comprehensively explored here.

Wherever Ethiopianism has taken root, three main factors animate it: White hegemony, especially over liberty, knowledge, and religion; a desire of Blacks for varying degrees of autonomy in economic and political affairs; and a sense of injustice and moral wrong related to Blacks' enduring White injustices, especially slavery and apartheid. Sometimes one of these factors may bear more heavily than others on how Ethiopianism is expressed, but in Jamaica all three factors are complexly intertwined and shaped by local events and histories. Thus, it distinguishes itself from Ethiopianist forms and practices in places such as the United States or South Africa, commonalities in thematic content and links between bearers of Ethiopianism in different nations notwithstanding.

Ethiopianism emerged in the United States by at least the mid-1700s, during the height of slavery. Evidence includes the teachings and writings of proto-Black nationalists like Prince Hall, the Black poetess Phyllis Wheatley, the narratives of slaves like Sojourner Truth. In 1797, Prince Hall, a revolutionary war veteran and a free African wanting to repatriate to Ethiopia, wrote:

My brethren, let us not be cast down under these and many other abuses we at present are laboring under, – for the darkest hour is just before the break of day ... [In prerevolutionary Haiti n]othing but the snap of the whip was heard, from morning to evening. Hanging, breaking on the wheel, burning, and all manner of tortures, were inflicted on those unhappy peoples. But, blessed be God, the scene is changed. They now confess that God hath no respect of persons, and therefore, receive them as their friends and treat them as brothers. Thus *doth Ethiopia stretch forth her hand from slavery, to freedom and equality* [emphasis added]. (Quoted in Moses 1978:24)

The text by Prince Hall, who is rumored to have been born in Barbados, is among the earliest identifiable sources drawing upon Psalms 68, verse 31: "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God."

By the early to mid-nineteenth century, new voices such as those of Robert Young and David Walker, were inspiring Ethiopianism. It was being debated and developed in Black literary and missionary societies, and in Church publications like the African Method Episcopal Church's *Review*. Two benchmark Ethiopianist documents were published in 1829: Robert Alexander Young's *The Ethiopian Manifesto* and David Walker's *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*. Young (1996:64), who believed in the coming of a "Black Messiah who would champion the cause of the 'degraded of this earth,'" wrote in his *Ethiopian Manifesto*:

for we tell you of a surety, the decree hath already passed the judgment seat of an undeviating God, wherein he hath said, "surely hath the cries of the black, a most persecuted people, ascended to my throne and craved my mercy; now behold! I will stretch forth my hand and gather them to the palm, that they may become unto me a people, and I unto them their God." Harken, therefore, oh! Slaveholder, thou task inflicter against the rights of men, the day is at hand ... when poverty shall to thee appear a blessing ... that in thine end thou might not curse the spirit which called thee forth to life.

Walker (1996:80) counseled that if Whites sought to kill Blacks, or if Blacks decided to rise up and slay Whites, then "kill or be killed." David Walker's Ethiopianist tract was so militant, radical, and threatening to the White bourgeoisie that the governors of Virginia and North Carolina, fearing that it would reach Boston and incite slaves there, asked the mayor of Boston to ban it (Moses 1996:68). At the same time, Walker granted that the English had done Blacks a service by introducing them to industry and civilization.

Generally speaking, Ethiopianism is a religious and racial ideology that sometimes bears political overtones. It has been described as a literary and "trans-Atlantic political movement" (Moses 1978:24) and as a religious movement (Campbell 1987:2), and all are apt descriptions of forms of Ethiopianism, depending upon the period and place being examined. Black people's fascination with Ethiopia grew out of the many references to it throughout the Bible, their understanding of Christianity's roots in ancient Ethiopia, and later, the recognition that Ethiopia had never been completely colonized by Europeans. The 1896 invasion of Ethiopia by Italy rallied Black South Africans to wave the banner of Ethiopianism proudly, and the 1935 invasion facilitated a brief reflowering of Ethiopianism throughout the United States, the Caribbean, and Europe. As noted in *Ethiopia Unbound*, it is thus understandable that Ethiopia came to be thought of by some as a "metaphysical black heaven" (Hayford 1969:xxiv).

In the thoughts and writings of the Ethiopianists of the 1700s and 1800s, Ethiopia and Egypt were signified as emblematic of a golden age and the high civilization of Black life. In true millenarian fashion, some looked to it as the future that awaited them. "It was the vision of a golden past – and the promise that Ethiopia should once more stretch forth its hands to God – that revitalized the hope of an oppressed people. Ethiopia to the Blacks in the Diaspora was like Zion or Jerusalem to the Jews" (Barrett 1988:75). Ethiopianism was millenarian and messianic from the outset because it predicted the fall of slavery and the West, the rise of Africa in the future, the return of Blacks to their imagined glory in precolonial Africa, all under the direction of a coming Black Messiah and redeemer.

Scott (1978:4) emphasizes how Psalms 68:31 were interpreted by eighteenth-century Blacks as a "divine pledge that the African race would

one day be delivered from slavery." In his study of Ethiopianism in South Africa, Bengt Sundkler (1964:59) observed how the "Ethiopian mythology projects the longings of the Africans to a Christian African nation under the 'Lion of Judah, King of Kings' and that its adherents sought out Mount Zion, 'City of the living God, heavenly Jerusalem,'" which is in Ethiopia. Like the Ethiopianists in South Africa, those in Jamaica preferred believing in a living, tangible God, as opposed to the abstract, "mute and so remote" White Jesus and God of the Christians, who apparently was indifferent to the suffering of Black people (Sundkler 1964:279). Mary Turner (1982) has demonstrated the great difficulty African slaves in Jamaica had accepting missionary teachings that God lives in the sky and does not visit earth to mingle with people, and that at death those people who did not live a good life went to a place called hell (they thought the West was "hell"). Yet, despite similarities, Ethiopianism in South Africa and Jamaica developed differently. We find it involved with three significant movements in Jamaica, while in South Africa its political ramifications were more ambiguous, subtle, and diffuse.

It cannot be said that Ethiopianism permeated the thinking and thoughts of the majority of Blacks of the diaspora, but the Biblical story of the bondage, tribulations, and subsequent redemption of the Jews in Egypt was familiar to Blacks who had contact with basic Christian teachings:

Whenever the Judeo-Christian tradition is made known to an oppressed people, the scenario of election, captivity, and liberation in the Old Testament seems to have special appeal. The story of the deliverance of Israel from slavery has always been understood as the prototype of nationalist redemption – the divine revelation of the transhistorical meaning of historical experience. (Wilmore 1998:60)

In Ethiopianism we find precursors to beliefs and practices associated with Black nationalism proper. This does not mean that Ethiopianism caused the practices; rather it points to a genre of Black efforts in disparate places and times to grapple with their complicated relationships with White-dominated societies. Examples include the following: Blacks should name themselves and reject names given to them by Whites; Whites are naturally aggressive and acquisitive; God, in his human form is Black, and deliberately misrepresented as White; and Blacks should direct their own religious and secular destinies. Several themes that influence the different strains of Ethiopianism include the following: 1) Ethiopia is the symbolic home of all Black people and the root of their cultural and historical legacies, especially for Christians; 2) this connection gives Blacks a direct claim to Jewry and ancient civilizations and history; 3) Ethiopia is the place to which Blacks should return and/or should develop through financial and political investment; 4) God will intercede on behalf of Blacks against Whites and their allies; 5) those nations involved in slavery will be destroyed by God; and 6) Blacks are a noble race brought low by White oppression.

## THE POLITICAL AND RADICAL DIMENSIONS OF ETHIOPIANISM

Wilson Moses (1996:16) claims that the Black experience of slavery is the origin of Black nationalism, and the same can be said of Ethiopianism. Not all Blacks who experienced slavery and race-based discrimination contributed to the development of Black nationalism – many were adamantly opposed to it – and Ethiopianism is no different. Rather, out of a generalized set of oppressive conditions, ideologies like Ethiopianism emerge. In retrospect, it can be argued that discrimination against Blacks has been a primary factor in animating and reanimating Ethiopianism (when it wanes). In this way secularization and social mobility weaken, if not completely marginalize, a primary role that Ethiopianism has historically played. Slavery, colonialism, racially restrictive policies, and even poverty caused by overtaxation and low wages, were associated by many Blacks with White domination, and were objects of criticism or condemnation by Ethiopianists. To appreciate the significance of Ethiopianism, it and White supremacy and the beliefs and policies attendant to it must be juxtaposed: “The basic colonial principles were: the doctrine of the supremacy of the white race and the inferiority of the black. Europe was a civilizer and Africa was savage. Skin color was a badge of status, with blackness denoting slave labour and the gradations of color moving downwards to degradation” (Sherlock & Bennett 1998:12). Ethiopianism did not make Blacks equal to Whites, nor did it improve their condition, but it projected their desires for improvement of their condition, provided hope in the form of redemption, either supernaturally or through human agency, and occasionally it became intertwined with political activities aimed at Black upliftment and self-determination. In some cases it informed consciousness and action to the point that it can be considered political, as among the Bedwardites, Garveyites, and Rastafarians.<sup>6</sup>

Ethiopianism has been invigorated by European-derived interpretations of the Scriptures that ignore or downplay the role of Africans in Biblical history. A long-standing tradition in Black scholarship and religious thinking has debated the role and presence of Blacks in Biblical history. For example, it has been argued that the descendants of Ham were Black, and that the term “Cush” or “Kush,” a term of Hebrew origin, refers to Black people of Africa, especially those of Ethiopia and Egypt. Barrett (1998:74) states that the word “Ethiopia” is a Greek translation of the Hebrew term “Kush/Cush,” and that it also means “burnt” or “black.” Along these lines is a widespread Ethiopianist view that enslavement and the decline of great African civilizations were punishment from a jealous God chagrined by the idolatry and wickedness of “his people.” At the same time this was reasoned to be a part of God’s larger plan: the redemption of Blacks and Africa.

6. I define “political” broadly and include activities that involve conflict and competition between governmental and civilian actors, not only conflicts over state power.

The desire of some Black people to interpret Christian doctrines in a manner consistent with their own experience and history has been a source of conflict with Whites and among other Blacks. Mainstream Christianity still finds heretical Black interpretations of the Scriptures. An old claim of Ethiopianists is that God (or the Messiah) is Black, while Whites believe he favors them (for example, see the introductory epigram). In South Africa, according to Sundkler (1964:38-39, 53), the first "Ethiopian" Church, founded in Witwatersrand in 1892, came about because of Black dissatisfaction with White racism and control over Church liturgy. St. Clair Drake (1970: 72) acknowledges this, noting how Ethiopianism was tied to an effort of Africans to be free of White control over their religious practices. Garvey and the Rastafarians were explicit in their racialized interpretations of Biblical figures, while it seems Bedward did not emphasize this, unless we consider his later claim that he himself was divine.

There is nothing about Ethiopianism that makes it intrinsically political. While groups inspired by millenarianism and messianism may engage in protest and rebellion, many are known to disengage from worldly affairs. Thus, where Ethiopianism acts as a blueprint for action, it is important to grasp the influencing factors. Jamaica presents an interesting case for the number of Ethiopianist-inspired activist movements it has witnessed. This, to no small extent, is a feature of Ethiopianism's differential development in Jamaica. As W.F. Elkins (1977:2) points out, there is a tradition in Jamaica of "enthusiastic religion" that embraces "positive social action," and that "utilized anti-authoritarian sections of the Bible."

Shepperson (1968:250) claims that during the period of 1872 to 1928, Ethiopianism was overtly political: "it exercised its greatest political influence and was most widely noticed in the European, American, and African press." If we are to search for clues to the establishment of Ethiopianism in Jamaica, a broadsheet posted in Lucea, Jamaica, in 1865, suggests that Ethiopianism was already implanted there: "I heard a Voice speaking to me in the year 1864, saying, 'Tell the Sons and Daughters of Africa that a great deliverance will take place for them from the hands of oppression ... If the people depend upon their Arms, and upon our Queen, and forget Him who is our God ... the mistakes will lead to great distress'" (in Breiner 1985-86: 31).<sup>7</sup> This quotation connotes Ethiopianist influences in how it references Africans and their release from oppression. Germane to the specificities of Jamaica, we see admonishment not to confuse their deliverer, God, with arms or monarchs. Richard Burton (1997:102) has noticed that Black religion became more radical and racialized in the 1860s, around the same time that White missionary influence over it waned.

7. Also cited, differently, in Schuler 1980:105.

Even though Ethiopianism easily accommodates quietism alongside fiery rhetoric, it has been associated with significant uprisings and millenarian movements. The Watchtower, Chilembwe, and Mjijima movements and rebellions made White Central and South Africans shudder with trepidation. In the African context Ethiopianism "seemed a clear and present danger to the white man's order" (Shepperson 1968:253) during its early phases because it pointed to African efforts at independence within the White order. Yet, as Fredrickson (1955:86) observes, Whites slowly realized it was not a revolutionary threat and became more tolerant of it. These developments complicate the impact of Ethiopianism because some of the independent Church religionists were politically active, but not radicals, and within the larger movement, conservative influences such as those of the African Methodist Episcopal religionists favored coexistence that allowed them to maintain some autonomy.

Ethiopianism developed into an ideology around which many Black organizations and religious and political programs were built, spreading from the United States into the Caribbean, sub-Saharan Africa, Britain, and France, between the late eighteenth century and the 1940s. From the late 1700s into the first third of the 1900s, a primary mode of diffusion of Ethiopianism was Black American slave and free preachers, Black seafarers, and itinerant contract workers<sup>8</sup> who visited the Caribbean, South Africa, and Central America. Many leaders and members of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church promoted Ethiopianism, ideologically and in practice. The AME Church was established throughout the Americas and maintained close ties with the independent Church movement in South Africa (Sundkler 1964; Post 1978:161). Daniel Thwaite (1936), for instance, argues that the African American bishop, Turner, of the Watchtower Association, stirred up Black South Africans with his Ethiopianism, which some of them embraced. Turner's exhortation to the Southern Africans is classically Ethiopianist:

Why has the white man's civilization contributed so little to the advancement of Africa? ... It is because the white man does not appreciate our value, because he believes himself by divine right to be the dominant race and thereby privileged to maintain all the others in a state of subordination. The black is the race of the future, and one day the black man will wake up and shake off the white man's yoke. He is already rubbing his eyes and feeling his muscles. (Quoted in Thwaite 1936:37)

Turner also provides an example of the contradictory aspects of Ethiopianists. His above-cited critical exposition on Whites was delivered to a Black South

8. Recent publications have had made clearer the significant extent to which American and Caribbean Blacks of the late 1800s and first third of the twentieth century supported radical left agendas and organizations (e.g., Kelly 1990; James 1998; Bush 1999).



African audience. When he spoke before audiences where Whites were present he toned down his critique (Fredrickson 1995:83). The friction between racial radicalism and accommodation in this instance, and probably many others, is a reflection of cautious pragmatism. To chastise the Whites might have caused him physical harm or derailed his organizing efforts in South Africa. An elder Rastafarian, Brother Yendis, showed this tension in a different way: "We must always challenge Babywrong [Babylon] wherever we are. We must expose her wickedness. But we can't fight her with arms [weapons] because they will kill us off."<sup>9</sup> Thus confrontation that seems largely rhetorical may in some instances be a reflection of pragmatic decisions.

Some Ethiopianists eschewed mainstream political efforts, preferring to wait for otherworldly interventions, while others directed energy into organizations resolved to facilitate repatriation and to teach Black people about Africa. What made Ethiopianism radical was its potential to raise Black racial and political consciousness about Africa and Africans. For many Blacks and Whites of the pre-Black-Power era, Africa was generally thought of as a dismal land full of savages incapable of making history and building civilization. To know or learn differently can be a racial consciousness-raising experience. As nigrescence theorists contend, such experience can be the catalyst for making Blackness a central and salient part of a person's identity (Cross 1995; 2001), leading them to privilege Black history and culture over that of other groups. One site where the literature on Black identity and Black nationalism converge is how pro-Black identifications like Ethiopianism meet psychological and social needs under conditions of oppression and segregation (e.g., Cross 1971; Cha-Jua 1998).

Ken Post (1978:168), who has written extensively on Jamaican labor, politics, and Ethiopianism, argues that Ethiopianism, especially its mystical and religious manifestations in Jamaica, prevented the emergence of radical, class-based movements: "in Jamaica it was primarily ideas which emerged out of the Ethiopian crisis, not organisation ... The pro-Ethiopia movement took not an organisational form but an ideological one." Post's politics, girded by orthodox Marxism, treats religious beliefs as a diversion from class struggle and sociopolitical organization. There is some truth in Post's view: building bureaucratic, class-based organizations was not a primary part of the Ethiopianist agenda in 1930s Jamaica. Yet, such a view neglects the numerous Ethiopianist-oriented associations, such as the United Negro Improvement Association and the Ethiopian World Federation. Non-mainstream groups like messianic, millenarian, and revitalization movements commonly create alternative forms of organization that observers ignore. For instance, there has been a robust "political" tendency within the Rastafarian movement since

9. Personal communication, 1998. The name is a pseudonym.

its birth, yet the scholarly and popular focus has been upon their messianism, culture, and ideology, promoting a view of their being apolitical (Price 2000). However, the pragmatic self-help-oriented Rastafari combine racial consciousness with moral concerns and political issues, especially poverty and racial and class-based discrimination. For example, Altamont Reid, an early Rastafarian, led an Israelite group who called for "a day of reckoning" (Post 1978:239); non-Rastafarian Frederick Evans led a group called Africa Black Ironsides, which simultaneously called for "racial independence" and "equality of human blood"; and St. William Grant, a Black activist who rose to prominence during the 1938 labor rebellion, led the Ethiopian Alliance of the World. These groups used a combination of religion, politics, and race consciousness to draw and rally followers. Such combinations could become extremely activist and political under certain conditions

Post's (1978:242) criticisms are limited mainly to why bureaucratic organizations and overt political programs were not a pervasive aspect of Ethiopianist-inspired endeavors: "[Ethiopianism] ... as an ideology, could not itself result in meaningful class action, by leading ... to a questioning of the whole existing system, even though in racial, not economic terms, it contributed indirectly to the realisation of the poor that they existed for themselves over and against other social interests." But race and religion have always been treated by orthodox Marxists as less important to social change than class, and they were rarely integrated into their theories. The Rastafarians, for instance, did use Ethiopianism, religion, race, and other cognitive practices to create a critique that questions the entire system. Hence, the definition of political practice must be flexible (e.g., Gray 1990).

How Ethiopianism emerged in Jamaica is unclear, but George Lisle (also spelled "Liele"), Moses Baker, and other Blacks who came to Jamaica with the Tories in the late 1700s, are likely carriers. George Lisle, who reached Jamaica in 1784, founded Jamaica's first Black Baptist church, the Ethiopian Baptist Church. Earlier, in America, he organized and founded possibly the first Black church, in 1778, in Savannah, Georgia (Brown 1975:58; Pulis 1999:192). According to Lisle, at least four other like-minded "brethren" were in Jamaica in 1784 (Brown 1975:60).<sup>10</sup>

Lisle had been preaching since at least 1774 when he decided to join the church, around the same time that he discovered his "love to other negroes" (quoted in Brown 1975:58). Lisle's teachings to his fellow free and enslaved Blacks drew upon a covenant that included, aside from Christian principles, not submitting to the "unjust" (Whites, elites) in courts of law (Brown

10. Pulis (1999) provides detailed discussion regarding Lisle, Baker, and the "Jamaican diaspora" of the late 1700s. Race and the content of Lisle's preaching are not the focus of the article.

1975:62). In Jamaica he was charged with sedition because he was heard preaching that Whites must be prayed for, if "they must be saved" (Brown 1975:60), and because it was believed that he intended to incite the slaves to insurrection (Chevannes 1971:27). The implication of his plea is that Whites were guilty of sin through slavery, and that Blacks, the objects of domination, were magnanimous enough to ask God to forgive their oppressors. A fellow Black from America, Moses Baker, who was also a religious teacher, established the second Black church in Jamaica in 1791, in St. James Parish (Brown 1975:61). In Jamaica, Lisle and Baker worked together teaching free and enslaved Blacks (and possibly a few Whites) in a school of their own making. They are the root of Jamaica's Native Baptist tradition (Chevannes 1971), which as Elkins (1977) and others have shown, has a history of radicalism.

Even though literacy was low in Jamaica through the 1960s, it was the Bible that most poor Jamaicans looked to for hope, for signs of the commencement of redemption, and for answers to their questions about life's trials and tribulations. For example, one of the founding Rastafarians who, while on trial for sedition in 1934, was asked why they held Ethiopia in such high esteem, replied: "We found [out about] it in the Bible. The brethren, who could write, search the Bible and use a dictionary and we find out that we were Ethiopians" (quoted in Post 1978:160).

In Jamaica, anti-White sentiments again became prevalent in the early 1900s, as they had during the mid to late 1800s. Slowly, Jamaica's class composition was beginning to change as movement toward industrial modernization was associated with a growing proletariat and an increasingly vocal Black petty bourgeoisie (Carnegie 1973). The latter group became especially vocal against Jamaica's entrenched racial discrimination in pay, education, access to the franchise, hiring in government, political office, and even taxation. The last policies bred resentment among the rural and urban poor. Discontent was fueled by an influx of rural citizens into Kingston and other urban areas. Importation of East Indian laborers complicated matters by depressing wages for Blacks and by absorbing potential jobs. The unemployed were showing themselves to be volatile, rioting here and there, as during the 1924 Darling Street riots. Also, by the mid-1920s the impact of Garvey's influence was beginning to be widely felt. Much of the dissatisfaction with Jamaican society was expressed in racial terms; even the Chinese were targets of Black racial animosity (Carnegie 1973). Natural disasters such as plant diseases, flooding, and drought jeopardized the livelihoods of those dependent upon agriculture and affected local markets. The concatenation of economic, political, social and natural problems, and World War I was interpreted by many as the fruit of wickedness and of God's ire, and as being evocative of impending deliverance and divine intervention.

Ethiopianism intensified as a result of Italy's second invasion of Ethiopia

in 1935. Some saw this as more evidence of looming divine intervention. In the United States and the Caribbean, Blacks volunteered to go to Ethiopia to fight alongside their African brethren against the fascists. New support organizations were formed and money was raised to support Ethiopia. Black newspapers such as the *Chicago Defender*, *The Pittsburgh Courier*, and Jamaica's *Plain Talk* informed the public on what was happening in Ethiopia, and how they could help.

Arguably, the demise of Ethiopianism as an overt influence upon social action was ensured by the development of indigenous political parties in the 1930s, the decline of Marcus Garvey's UNIA and the chapters of the Ethiopian World Federation (EWF), and the emergence of national liberation and decolonization movements in the 1950s. As mentioned above, increased opportunities for Blacks in work and education, and spreading secularism, can make Ethiopianism less relevant to daily experience. Fredrickson (1995: 92) sees the growth of Pentecostalism in America and South Africa as influences that de-emphasize the political and militant potential of Ethiopianism after the 1920s, and Burton (1997:119) concurs, adding that radical Christianity in Jamaica, which had its climax around 1921, was dulled by the influences of Pentecostalism and male outmigration. Yet, Ethiopianism continued to exist through the Rastafarians.

#### ALEXANDER BEDWARD AND THE BEDWARDITES

It should be not be neglected that the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865 was a watershed event in which race-consciousness blended with religion and critiques of injustice (and it led to imposition of a Crown Colony government by England). The rebellion, led by Paul Bogle, another Black Baptist preacher, may prove to be a vital link in the development of Ethiopianism in Jamaica. Race – Blackness – proved to be a “motivating force” in the rebellion and was entangled with religious speechifying (Burton 1997:112).<sup>11</sup> Bogle's infamous rallying cries, “Cleave to the Black!” and “Kill all the White men and all the Black men that would not join them” (quoted in Post 1978:34,143), illustrate how race was used as both a mode of solidarity and distinction. Bogle asked his followers to stick together on grounds of race, while also identifying and neutralizing all those Blacks who stood against their pursuit of justice and autonomy. The Rastafarians later redefined the call as “Death to all White and Black Oppressors!” This is no random coincidence, but a continuity born of shared experience and geographical proximity. The race-based radicalism of St. Thomas led one scholar to call it a site of “Negro

11. For additional perspectives see: Underhill 1971; Chutkan 1975; Robotham 1983; Heuman 1994.

nationalism" in the latter 1800s (Knox 1962). Moreover, Burton (1997: 119), citing Post, argues that "Bedward and Bedwardism provide a 'vital link in the continuity of protest from Morant Bay onwards.'" Ascertaining how Ethiopianism spread, how it was expressed, and what its influence was before Bedward remain open questions worthy of focused inquiry.

Alexander Bedward delivered sermons and teachings that instructed his followers about how the colonial government had oppressed Black people, emphasizing the Morant Bay Rebellion as an example of what happens when Black people become tired of being oppressed. The colonial government took this as solicitous of insurrection. Both the secular and romantic strains of Ethiopianism could support antigovernment critiques, and Bedward, like other preachers of his time, acted as if the "present social order is doomed to destruction ... destined to be overthrown by some cataclysmic upheaval of Society in the near future" (quoted in Elkins 1977:5). Apparently Blacks were to be facilitative of the upheaval, or were to benefit from it. Bedward emphasized that he had been prophesying for three years and that finally "the time is near at hand" (quoted in Elkins 1977:12); he saw himself as a savior of the Black race. Although the scope of Bedward's influence makes him significant, the works of Elkins (1977) and Burton (1997) demonstrate that subversive and racialized religious beliefs were common in Jamaica between the late 1880s and the 1920s. This period was characterized by economic recession, and an increase in illnesses and mortality (Elkins 1977), as well as volatility among workers and the unemployed.

Bedward drew on the emotions that motivated the Morant Bay Rebellion, while also criticizing the established religions, especially their preachers, whom he referred to as "Antichrists." The displaced peasantry were especially attracted to Bedward's messages and leadership. Bedward, most likely born in 1859, became one of Jamaica's great grassroots religious leaders. Like many Jamaicans of his time, and some of the early promoters of Rastafari ideology, he traveled to Central America (Colon, Panama) in 1883, in search of a cure to an unknown ailment. In 1885 he had two religious visions that compelled him to return to Jamaica to be baptized (Post 1978:6). In April 1889, he joined H.E.S. Woods's newly founded Jamaica Native Baptist Free Church (JNBFC) in August Town, a small community in St. Andrews Parish, on the northeastern fringes of Kingston. In October 1891, Bedward claimed that God had called on him to carry out special work in Jamaica. Nelson W. Keith and Novella Z. Keith (1992:66) suggest that Bedwardism may be the "first global expression of Afro-Christianity as an active molder of the political will." Bedward may not have called himself an Ethiopianist, but the overtones are clear in his speeches and thinking. Bedward's Ethiopianism, religious militancy, and social organization (bands and camps) provided continuities that were later embodied in the early Rastafarian movement. Some Bedwardites like Robert Hinds and Bishop

Brown took on the Rastafarian faith, holding Haile Selassie to be the Black God-King and redeemer.

Bedward's following consisted mostly of poor peasants and working-class people (e.g., casual laborers, household workers, craftsmen and craftswomen) who were drawn to his religious messages and the Black moral economy<sup>12</sup> he pointed to: the need for land and justice, the injustices associated with White rule, and the necessity of setting up social welfare schemes that addressed the needs of the aged, infants, sick, and illiterate. Like Bogle, Bedward developed alternative social institutions such as Black courts of law to administer justice and promote fairness.

Bedward had many clashes with the police and army and ended up in jail on several occasions. In April and May 1895, he was on trial for his "seditious" activities, and pled not guilty on grounds of insanity. He was acquitted by a jury, but was ordered to the Kingston asylum, although he was later freed of this order. The pattern that emerges here, if not earlier, and continues through the history of the Rastafarians up to the mid-1960s, is the arrest of religious and racial radicals on grounds of sedition, treason, and vagrancy, and their imprisonment on grounds of insanity.

Bedward, like the Rastafarians who came after him, became a threat to the established religions and the colonial government. He claimed that he had created a new religion, a faith that would replace Christianity. It seemed that Bedward, however, would have been content to pray with and heal his followers if the colonial and Church authorities had not intervened with his affairs, leading him to defy them. He threatened the government with blistering anti-White and anticolonial rhetoric and his talk of rebellion. In 1895, he made this statement to a huge throng of listeners:

The Pharisees and Sadducees are the white men, and we are the true people. White people are hypocrites, liars, thieves; Ministers of religion are all rogues and vagabonds. There was a white wall and a black wall. The white wall was closing around the black wall, but now the black wall was stronger than the white wall, and must crush it. The Governor is a scoundrel and robber, the Governor and Council pass laws to oppress the Black people, take their money from their pockets and deprive them of bread and do nothing for it ... I have a sign that the black people must rise. Remember the Morant War. The fire of hell will be your portion if you do not rise and crush the white people. (Quoted in Chevannes 1971:35)

In this excerpt we hear a romantic variety of Ethiopianism that is critical of oppressive White government.<sup>13</sup> Bedward was predicting a confrontation between Blacks and Whites, where Black people will be the victors.

12. The Black moral economy describes a racialized conception of moral economy developed by E. P. Thompson (1971), James Scott (1976), and others.

13. Bedward, Garvey, and the Rastafari were also critical of middle-class Black people who were not race-conscious.

Between the mid-1890s and 1921, Bedward's movement grew in strength. Bedward is best known for claiming on December 31, 1920, that he would fly up to heaven from Union Camp in August Town, to return on January 3, 1921. Stories abound about how Bedward climbed a tree and jumped out, flapping his arms as if they were wings. This supports the view of Bedward as a lunatic. But Rasta Ivey,<sup>14</sup> one of the oldest living female Rastafarians, who was a Bedwardite during the 1920s, argues that what Bedward meant was that he was going to take an airplane flight to reach the heavens, but he was unable to get access to a plane during the time he claimed. She argues that the stories about flailing arms and jumping out of trees are patent falsehoods, even though she remembers hearing people gathering to watch him take off. As Rasta Ivey remembers the event, the crowd did not understand that Bedward meant he was going to fly in an airplane. When asked if she was present when Bedward was to fly, she replied:

No, No, No, No. I only hear of it, I did not see that. I understand that he was talking to people, and he was showing them [things they did not know], but the people are so wicked and lie that they put it more than what he said. They said he said he was going to fly, but they said he flew. He only fixed up himself [dressed sharply] and when he told them that, he meant aeroplane. The aeroplane was coming. They had it false. He told them he was going to fly, but it was not himself that would fly. He meant that he was going away because he disappeared and they did not know how he disappeared. From they took him [to asylum] nobody heard anything about him. And all his members that I know were sent back to country.<sup>15</sup> (Rasta Ivey 1998)

Even though Bedward's "flight" did not occur, and the throng of followers left disappointed, he did not lose popularity.

In April 1921, Bedward, his followers, and the colonial authorities clashed a few times, leading him to proclaim an important march from August Town to Kingston in April. On the day before the march the governor issued a warrant for his arrest:

when Bedward began his march at dawn on the next day there were 60 police, half of them armed, and 60 men of the Royal Sussex Regiment waiting to intercept Bedward on the road. Dressed in white robes, carrying wooden crosses and palm leaves, his followers offered no resistance to the arrest of their leader and 685 of their number. All were taken to Half-Way-Tree court ... the rest [excepting Bedward] were immediately tried in

14. "Rasta Ivey" is not a pseudonym. She insists that I use her real name.

15. I can only speculate that Bedward may not have wanted to tell his followers about the plane, but to rather surprise them with his "control" of modern technology. Beckwith (1969) claims to have been in Jamaica in December 1920 for Bedward's event and offers a different account of what happened.

batches of ten, being accused under the Vagrancy Law, a useful measure of class control, of "being able to labour and habitually abstaining from work." (Post 1978:8)

All were found guilty except some of those who believed that Bedward was Christ; these people were enjoined to medical observation.

Bedward was consigned to the asylum as a result of the 1921 incident, and there he died, November 8, 1930, six days after the coronation of Ras Tafari as King of Ethiopia. But for about thirty years, Bedward's ideology and practice had wide support from poor Jamaicans across the island.

### MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY: EXPANDING AND INTENSIFYING THE ETHIOPIANIST TENDENCIES

Marcus Garvey provided new fuel for Ethiopianism. He pointed to a positive future for Blacks as a proud, autonomous people. He is revered because he gave voice to what Black people needed to hear to improve their self-regard as individuals and as a race, and to what they needed to gain confidence in their capacity to improve their own condition through private enterprise and collective organization. Specifically, Garvey wanted 1) to unify Black people globally; 2) to facilitate the contribution of Black people in the diaspora to the politico-economic development and self-determination of Africa; 3) to advocate the creation of Black educational establishments that teach Black culture and history; and 4) to rid Black people of their negative self-images.

Garvey<sup>16</sup> was born in 1887, in the parish of St. Anne. He left school early (around 1901), worked as a printer, and traveled through Central America as young man. Garvey was not initially a "radical" Black man, but could be described as an adherent of Booker T. Washington's assimilationist tendency (Washington was one of young Marcus's heroes). One of the greatest influences on Garvey was the Black Nationalist and Pan-Africanist, Robert Love (1835-1914). Love too was influenced by Ethiopianism (Lewis 1987). In 1916 Garvey left Jamaica for the United States, and popular and academic lore hold that in his parting speech he said: "Look to Africa for the crowning of a Black king, he shall be the Redeemer." While Rastafarians took this statement literally, and academics confirmed it by repeating it in print, there is no hard evidence that connects the statement to Garvey (see Hill 1983: 25). Upon arrival in the United States, Garvey became radicalized, being influenced by the "New Negro" movement.

In 1914 Garvey founded the UNIA in Jamaica, and somewhere between 1916 and 1918 he founded the first chapter in New York City. Garvey's message combined the Jamaican peasants' aspirations for economic and

16. The general reference for this section is the compilation of Robert Hill (1989).



cultural independence with the American mantra of success.<sup>17</sup> In 1919 he inaugurated the Black Star Line shipping company, one of his more widely known ventures. The *Negro World* newspaper, introduced in 1918, was read by Black people throughout the Americas, Europe, and Africa; annual circulation ranged between 50,000 and 200,000 copies between its inception and 1933 (Carnegie 1999:60). His venture helped to spread his message of Black empowerment, African redemption, and self-reliance.

Ethiopianism was a diffuse model for arousing activism compared to the Black nationalism espoused by Marcus Garvey. Garvey was coherent, articulate, and forceful in linking his rhetoric to Black moral economies in Jamaica and abroad. He held constant some of the mystical symbolism and religiosity of Ethiopianism, while elaborating by modernizing the discourse and making tradition secondary to Black progress and empowerment. Garvey's rhetoric brilliantly utilized religious imagery, while emphasizing capitalist and American ideology. In Jamaica, the conditions of the early 1930s were ripe for a charismatic figure to garner a constituency. Anti-British and anticolonial sentiments were high, Blacks were agitating for political representation and self-government, and times were hard. Garvey filled a space and met receptive audiences (and reactionary forces). Regrettably, observers have placed more attention on the "sordid, entangled and unfortunate history of the Black Star Line as business venture than to its symbolic import or the imaginative fires it kindled" (Carnegie 1999:65). Garvey intensified Ethiopianism with his fiery racial upliftment rhetoric, and the Rastafarians paid close attention:

we as Negroes have found a new ideal. Whilst our God has no color, yet it is human to see everything through one's own spectacles, and since the white people have seen their God through white spectacles, we have only now started (late though it be) to see our God through our own spectacles. The God of Isaac and the God of Jacob let him exist for the race that believe in the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob. *We Negroes believe in the God of Ethiopia, the everlasting God ... we shall worship him through the spectacles of Ethiopia* [emphasis added]. (Garvey 1989:34)

In a later passage, Garvey says the desire of the UNIA is "not to disturb the tranquility of other men, but to lay down our burden and rest our weary backs and feet by the banks of the Niger and *sing our songs and chant our hymns to the God of Ethiopia* [emphasis added]" (Garvey 1989:120).

Whereas the tenets of Ethiopianism easily merged with Garvey's Black nationalism, his politics did not allow an uncritical association between the two philosophies and their proponents. Garvey looked positively upon the crowning of Ras Tafari as Emperor of Ethiopia, and as late as 1935 held res-

17. See Marcus Garvey, "An Overview," in Hill 1989.

pect for the emperor, being one of many who condemned the invasion of the fascists and offered support to Ethiopia. However, by 1936, after the emperor fled Ethiopia and sought assistance from the League of Nations, including colonial powers like Britain, Garvey became stingingly critical of the emperor, accusing him of seeking help from those who were the enemies of Black people and not identifying with the average Black African (referring to Selassie's Amhara ancestry, which distinguished itself as an elite group). Garvey lashed out against Haile Selassie in the article "Italy's Conquest?" printed in *Black Man* (Garvey 1936). Garvey's anti-Selassie standpoint caused him to lose support, showing that people's affinities to Ethiopianism were deeper than an attachment to charismatic personalities.

Even though most Rastafarians revere Marcus Garvey, he did not hold a favorable view of them, nor of grassroots religionists like the Bedwardites, which he called a cult. In a speech at a UNIA convention late in the summer of 1934, he said that the

prevailing religious fanaticism existing among certain classes of Negroes was alarming, and that up to the present the Race had not properly settled upon sound religious policy ... [E]very day very simple and ignorant people were founding and organizing new cults which were extremely contradictory to the set principles of true religion, and that it was to the Race's benefit to use its intelligence to curb this spreading fanaticism. (*Daily Gleaner* quoted in Post 1978:188)

Although he knew how to tap into Black moral economies, Garvey apparently favored "civilization" over the grassroots.

Garvey's exile facilitated the deterioration of the UNIA in Jamaica. Still, some UNIA locals continued to exist into the 1940s. A significant number of Rastafarians participated in or were sympathetic toward UNIA locals, and Garveyites often literally took up the banner of Rastafari. Sister Aleisha (a pseudonym) for example, was a Garveyite during the 1940s and 1950s. Although she holds Haile Selassie as divine, she does not see herself as a Rastafarian (she is also a member of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Kingston), primarily because she disagrees with their use of marijuana and their growing of dreadlocks (most Rastafarians did not wear dreadlocks before the mid to late 1940s).

#### MAINTAINING AND REFORMULATING ETHIOPIANISM: THE RISE AND SPREAD OF THE EARLY RASTAFARI

I now examine Ethiopianism as it manifested itself among the first Rastafarians, focusing on the period between 1930 and 1938. Founding members of the Rastafari found new energy for their conception of

Ethiopianism abroad, while some remnants of the Bedwardites gravitated toward the incipient Rastafari movement. I focus especially on the transnational connections of Ethiopianism and how it comes to reassert itself in the same region that gave birth to the Morant Bay Rebellion.

Ethiopianists like Robert Young believed that a Black Messiah would come to redeem Africa and Black people:

As came John the Baptist, of old, to spread abroad the forthcoming of his master, so alike are intended these our words, to denote to the black African or Ethiopian people, that God has prepared for them a leader, who awaits but for his season to proclaim to them his birthright. How shall you know this man? By indubitable signs which cannot be controverted by the power of mortal, his marks being stamped in open visage, as equally so upon his frame. (Young 1996:65)

On November 2, 1930, Ras Tafari was crowned Emperor of Ethiopia and took the name Haile Selassie, which translates as "Son of the Holy," entitling himself King of Kings, Lord of Lords, and the Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah. Lij Tafari Makonnen<sup>18</sup> was born July 23, 1892, in Harar, a city in the Eastern province of Harege, Ethiopia. Soon after his birth his mother died, and by 1896 Ethiopia was at war with the invading Italians, whom the Ethiopians defeated in 1896 at the Battle of Adawa. In 1928 Ras Tafari was given the title "Negus," which meant he was now a king. At the age of thirty-seven, Ras Tafari Makonnen was crowned Emperor of Ethiopia, at St. George's Cathedral, Addis Ababa, on November 2, 1930. This event was reported to the world. Not only did African dignitaries attend the coronation, but colonial representatives were also present, including the son of King George V, the Duke of Gloucester. Reportedly the duke kneeled to kiss the hand of the emperor. For the Rastafarians this meant that the British throne was bowing to a force it recognized as greater than itself. After all, why would the Empire pay tribute to a Black king of a small, unmodernized nation like Ethiopia? This pageantry was recorded by Jamaican newspapers, and was much discussed.

The events framing the experience and interpretations of the early Rastafarians included a world war, the American stock market crash, inept colonial administration, natural disasters, and the specter of a strengthening fascism. From their Biblical perspective, the second coming of Christ and the resultant new world would be signaled by wars, rumors of war, famine, pestilence, and hard times. Black Jamaicans were looking to their Bibles for answers to the turmoil and instability engulfing the world. The Book of Revelations provided them with many answers. The Scriptures were con-

18. "Lij" and "Ras" are titles of respect; "Lij" is applied to those of lower stature, like young people.

strued by them to promise that on his second visit, the Messiah would return as a king. To be able to recognize the King when he returned required piecing together statements made in Revelations and other Biblical books: the King would be of the lineage of Kings David and Solomon, and of the Tribe of Judah, and he would emerge during a time of great instability and uncertainty. Moreover, the King would be challenged by the Beast or Antichrist and would win. Selassie's conflict with the Italians and fascism satisfied for them their expectation that the Beast would challenge the Messiah and lose, while the world watched. For these reasons and many more, Haile Selassie fit the bill.

M.G. Smith, Roy Augier, and Rex Nettleford (1960:5-6) nicely sum up the Rastafari perspective:

Revelation 5:2, 5 – And I saw a strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice, “Who is worthy to open the Book, and to loose the seals thereof?”... And one of the elders said to me “Weep not: behold, the Lion of Judah, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the Book and to loose the seven spirits of God sent forth into all the earth.” Later, when the Italians invaded Ethiopia, Revelation 19:19 was fulfilled – “And I saw the Beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, against his army.” In 1941, with the Emperor's return to Ethiopia, the succeeding verse was fulfilled – “And the Beast was taken.”

There is convincing evidence that suggests that Rastafarian ideology emerges from a cross-fertilization between Ethiopianist ideas in the United States, South Africa, and Jamaica. Robert Hill has tracked down three of the originative documents of the early Rastafari movement: *The Holy Piby*, *The Royal Parchment Scroll of Black Supremacy*; and *The Promise Key* (see the interview with Robert Hill, Scott 1999:135-44). *The Holy Piby* had great influence on religious radicals in South Africa and Jamaica. Robert Athlyi Rogers, an Anguillan who settled in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, wrote *The Holy Piby*,<sup>19</sup> which was published in 1924. There are two versions of it, a larger and a smaller one. *The Holy Piby*, the first of the trilogy, preaches the “doctrine of the divinity of Ethiopia” (Scott 1999:141).

Rogers, as a result of a dream, decided that he had to go to sea, where he came into contact with a South African Garveyite, Joseph Masogha, who was a distributor of Garvey's paper *The Negro World*. Rogers was once the president of a UNIA local in Perth Amboy and the minister of his own church, the Afro-Athlyican Constructive Gaathlyans Church, of which he later made Masogha the head (see Scott 1999:140; see also Chirenje 1987; Fredrickson 1995). He believed that the leadership of the African struggle

19. South African colonial authorities apparently confiscated a copy of *The Holy Piby* and filed away quotations from it, from which Sundkler (1964) then quotes.

should be an African or someone who had made Africa his home. This was perceptive on Rogers's part, because South Africans like James Dwane,<sup>20</sup> a leader of an indigenous South African tribal clan, believed that the phrase "Africa for the Africans" had to be interpreted literally. Dwane's experience with the Black American Churches during his visit to the United States made him feel that the church leaders had required him to be subordinate, and did not acknowledge the importance of reaching out to their African compatriots (Sundkler 1964:41; see also Chirenje 1987; Fredrickson 1997).<sup>21</sup>

Sundkler's work on Bantu prophets in South Africa indirectly confirms the relationship between Rogers, Masogha, and *The Holy Piby* and between Ethiopianism in the United States, South Africa, and Jamaica:

The Bible which the Bantu now have is the wrong book. There exists, they say, another Bible, hidden away from the Bantu by the Whites, a book containing the real truth, whilst the "old Bible" – as the Bible is called in such circles – was written only to cheat the Black man. One source of this propaganda seems to be the Afro-Athlican [sic] Constructive Church, of Negro [Black American] origin ... they know and [claim to] possess "another" Bible, the right, Ethiopian Bible, called "The Holy Piby." According to them, *the "old Bible" was given to the children of the house of Israel, whereas the Holy Piby has been given to children of the house of Ethiopia* [emphasis added]. (Sundkler 1964:278)

These views fit the basic tenet of Ethiopianism, showing the consistency of the ideas, despite the widespread sowing of these thoughts in disparate lands.

While traveling at sea, Rogers stopped in Colón, Panama, where he met two Jamaicans who expressed an interest in *The Holy Piby* and his Athlyican Church. Around 1924-25 the two, Charlie Goodrich and Mother Grace Garrison, resettled in Jamaica and formed a branch of the Afro-Athlyican Constructive Gaathlyans (or the Hamatic Church) in Jamaica. The Garveyites condemned the Hamatic Church (Scott 1999:142), notwithstanding its race-conscious aspects. The Garveyites ran Goodrich and Mother Grace out of Kingston, and it was a former Bedwardite living in Port Morant

20. Dwane and former leaders of the Wesleyan Mission Church broke away and decided to affiliate with the AME Church of America. Dwane visited the United States to obtain this affiliation (Sundkler 1964:40). Dwane helped to incorporate the African Ethiopian Church leadership into the AME, and even asked for financial support to visit King Menelik of Ethiopia and to expand into Sudan and Egypt. In 1900 Dwane formed the "Order of Ethiopia" (Sundkler 1964:40). Dwane and others came to feel that American Negro missionaries posed the same problems of rule and control as White missionaries, and proceeded to lodge similar criticisms against the AME Church Black leadership as against Whites (Sundkler 1964:42).

21. He visited England in 1894-95 and soon thereafter, visited the United States (Sundkler 1964:40).

who helped the fleeing pair find respite. This is likely how *The Holy Piby* ended up in St. Thomas, where Leonard Howell would soon be preaching Rastafari (Scott 1999:142). Robert Hill (1983) believes that Howell found *The Holy Piby* in Port Morant (Scott 1999:142,143).

Reverend Pettersburgh, an African American who apparently visited Jamaica, wrote the second document of the trilogy, *The Royal Parchment Scroll*. The *Promise Key*, the final document of the trilogy, was published by the original Rastafarian Leonard Howell, in 1934, and according to Hill, was plagiarized from *The Royal Parchment Scroll*. The *Promise Key* was the main text used in street meetings of the early Rastafari.

Sundkler (1964:59) mentions that the “Ethiopian mythology projects the longings of the Africans to a Christian African nation under the ‘Lion of Judah, King of Kings,’ the Zionist mythical charter leads their thoughts to the Holy Land itself.” He goes on to note that Black American influence on Ethiopianism in South Africa was significant:

Influences from Negro churches in America sometimes introduce a decidedly anti-White note into this [South African] Ethiopian ideology. The influence of Marcus Garvey – the Negro prophet, visionary and agitator – is strong in the Afro-Athlican Constructive Church, centred in Kimberly ... The creed of Church easily out-Ethiopians the Bantu Ethiopians: We believe in one God, Maker of all things, Father of Ethiopia, and in his Holy Laws as it is written in the book Piby ... Who did Athlyi, Marcus Garvey, and colleagues come to save? The down-trodden children of Ethiopia that they might rise to be a great power among the nations. (Sundkler 1964:58)

In South Africa and Jamaica Garvey and Athlyi influenced Ethiopianist ideologies.

Four individuals have been identified as the first evangelists advancing the idea that Haile Selassie was the Messiah returned: Leonard Howell, Archibald Dunkley, Robert Hinds, and Joseph Hibbert. However, it is likely there were others. Howell returned to Jamaica in 1932 from the United States. Hibbert lived in Costa Rica from 1911, and returned to Jamaica in 1931 (Post 1978:164). Dunkley served as a seaman on Atlantic Fruit Company boats, leaving the AFC toward the end of 1930 to study the “Bible for two and a half years ‘to determine whether Haile Selassie was the Messiah whom Garvey had prophesied’” (Post 1978:164). Less is known about Hinds, but Rasta Ivey was a follower of his teachings, having met him at Bedwardite meetings. All of these men were preaching the doctrine of Ras Tafari by 1933, and documentary evidence places the emergence of the first Rastafarians somewhere between West Kingston and St. Thomas Parish around early 1931.

Ethiopianist-inspired associations and teachings were not uncommon in the greater Kingston area during the 1920s. For example, in 1924 Hibbert

joined the organization of the Ancient Mystic Order of Ethiopia, a Masonic group. Hibbert's mission was established in St. Andrew, in the district of Benoa, and later moved to Kingston, where he met Howell (Barrett 1988: 82). In 1933 Dunkley founded his King of Kings Missionary Movement, preaching that His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie was the "Son of the Living God, but not the father himself."<sup>22</sup> Dunkley's mission was founded in Port Antonio and later moved to Kingston. According to Barrett, Dunkley recruited many members who were Garveyites. Post speculates that Altamont Reid, another early preacher, "radicalized" and likely took over the King of Kings Mission.

These early evangelists were drawing upon extant traditions and symbols,<sup>23</sup> but they were piecing them together in novel ways. Rasta Ivey has a phrase she uses to explain how she made sense of the new beliefs as she was coming into the faith: "The five is become one." She is referring to the four evangelists mentioned plus a little-known evangelist, Bishop Brown. She implies a connection between Bedward and the ideas of at least two early evangelists:

I understood [the varying doctrines of Rastafari] because from Mr. Bedward forward I could put everybody together and it becomes one. When he [Leonard Howell] came and was telling me, I understood because it is one thing. Mr. Bedward, Bishop Brown and all those men is one thing. It seems as if it is divided, but it is not. It is one thing. At that time [before the coronation], he [Selassie I] was not on the scene ... [he was not] in our midst yet that we could understand that it is Him [Selassie had not yet been crowned emperor]. (Rasta Ivey 1998)

Rasta Ivey means that even though she found several people preaching about Rastafari, she realized that they had a common message. For her, this realization was an important part of her conversion to Rastafari. Another possible influence on the proto-Rastafarites was the Salvation Army, which around the same time, was preaching of a "Lion of Judah that will break every chain," which is how Selassie I was conceived after he was crowned emperor (Rasta Ivey 1998). This Rastafarian chant enshrines the idea:

22. Despite some overlap in listeners and followers, these early leaders had core constituencies. These cores may be the roots of some of the ideological differences between groups within the movement, reinforced by a tendency to create small, independent units organized around charismatic leadership.

23. Chevannes (1998:39) has demonstrated that the early Rastafari are closely tied to the Revival tradition, an ecstatic and enthusiastic form of Christianity blended with African-rooted religious traditions; he sees it as a "cultural movement" and a "worldview movement."

The Conquering Lion must break every chain  
 The Conquering Lion must break every chain  
     and give I a victory again and again  
 The Lion of Judah must break every chain  
     and give I a victory again and again

It was not the racial rhetoric that first got Rastafarians into trouble; it was their rejection of allegiance to the British Crown and their challenge to the indigenous religions that sparked animosity between them, the public, and authorities.

Most observers hold Leonard Howell as the father of Rastafari, being the first to preach the faith. Yet, Hibbert and Dunkley were also preaching around the same time, and the three were aware of each other, although the extent of inter-influences is not clear (Hinds is sometimes referred to as Hibbert's assistant or deputy). Post suggests that Hibbert could possibly have been preaching Rastafari before Howell (1978:164). They were racially-conscious street preachers in the anti-establishment tradition discussed by Elkins (1977). Rasta Ivey claims that Hinds was preaching Rastafari around the same time.<sup>24</sup> He also was one of those who participated in Bedward's 1921 march against the police and tried and charged as being mentally incompetent. According to one source, Hinds claims to have learned of Ras Tafari from someone who had returned from Cuba (Post 1978:163).<sup>25</sup> Howell, however, left the most tangible evidence of his activities, mainly his writings, and it is this that gives him original founder status, from an academic perspective. Most Rastafarians acknowledge him as founding father. But this story is far from being complete.

Another important source of information and imagery for the nascent Rastafarians came from the June 1931 issue of *National Geographic*, which carried photographs of life in Ethiopia.<sup>26</sup> How many copies of the issue were

24. Rasta Ivey, born around 1912, remembers listening to Howell, Hibbert, Dunkley, and Hinds give street sermons in the early 1930s.

25. Hinds might be one source of the belief of the first- and second-generation Rastafarians that ships would be sent to ferry them to Ethiopia (see the *Daily Gleaner* March 17, 1934). One version holds that Haile Selassie himself would send the ships, while another holds the King of England would be responsible for sending the ships. Mamie Richardson of the EWF continued the propagation of belief in the arrival of ships from Addis Ababa to Jamaica, even though she was speculating based on what the EWF in New York was doing. Even as late as 1998 I spoke with one elder Rastafarian woman who believed that a ship was coming to pick up those who were ready, on August 1, 1998, to take them to Jerusalem and Ethiopia, whichever they chose. She said her dreams told her the United States would send the ship. The ship never arrived.

26. The November 3, 1930 issue of *Time* magazine carried a picture of Haile Selassie I on its cover. The story, "Abyssinia: Coronation," notes that "Negro newsorgans hailed him [Selassie I] as their own" (see [www.time.com/time/europe/timetraits/selassie/hs301103.html](http://www.time.com/time/europe/timetraits/selassie/hs301103.html)).



circulating among Jamaica's poorest citizens is not clear. One elder remembers getting a glimpse of it from a seaman or a man who worked on the Kingston docks. Those elders who remember seeing the issue talked about it in ways that suggest that those who got a glimpse of the article cherished every picture and word.

Howell spent a short time in Kingston before moving, in around 1933, to that rural hotbed of radicalism and racialism, St. Thomas Parish. Integrating himself into an already discontented peasant and squatter population, Howell found an audience ready and receptive to hear about the Black Messiah in Ethiopia who was ready to stretch forth his hands and redeem the scattered Blacks of the diaspora. The *Daily Gleaner*<sup>27</sup> estimated that Howell had about 800 followers in the Leith Hall and Pear Tree Grove areas of St. Thomas.

There was considerable overlap between Ethiopianist themes as discussed above, the racial rhetoric espoused in the St. Thomas area, and the early doctrines of Rastafari: 1) Whites are evil and to be distrusted; 2) the Black race is morally superior; 3) Whites will be punished for their sinfulness; 4) the Jamaican government and its laws are to be dishonored; 5) make mental and physical preparation to return to Africa; and 6) Haile Selassie I is the sovereign God and the King of Black people.

Rastafari views and exhortations on the eschewing of allegiance to the Crown quickly brought them to the attention of colonial authorities, who began spying on them and recording the content of their speeches and meetings.<sup>28</sup> It may be these experiences that inform the Nyabingi chant "White boy a follower, everywhere Rastafari go White boy a follow." Although there were many ideological and cultural continuities with the past, what made the Rastafarians "new" was the combination of their positive evaluation of Africa and Blackness, their desire to repatriate to Africa, their criticism of the Crown and colonialism, and their view that the Messiah had already returned and was walking once again among mortals – a Black Messiah at that.

By the late 1930s, the working and middle classes were disavowing the Rastafarians, who they now called extremists and racists, and the public began to confront them physically in their open-air gatherings.<sup>29</sup> Petitions were put forward to prevent the public assembly of those preaching Rastafari. The real threat to the colonial and Black middle classes was their antistate and anticolonial views, and the growing support they garnered among people in Kingston and St. Thomas.

27. *Daily Gleaner* December 16, 1933.

28. For more on colonial reactions to the Rastafari, see Hill 1983; Chevannes 1994; Van Dijk 1995.

29. Post (1978:192) gives the example of how the St. Andrew Civic League denounced the Rastafarians, and how Dunkley and his followers exchanged blows with passersby.

Fueled by propaganda, anti-White sentiments continued to grow among Rastafarians and non-Rastafarians alike. In 1935, an article by Frederico Philos (probably a pseudonym) was published in the *Jamaica Times*.<sup>30</sup> The article "revealed" that a threatening and arcane group, the "Nya-Binghi," had arisen in the jungles and cities of Africa and had spread throughout the world wherever Blacks had been transplanted as slaves. According to Philos, their name, "Nya-binghi," meant "death to Whites." The problem the Nya-Binghi posed was that they were approximately twenty million strong and that Haile Selassie had agreed to be their leader. This newspeak fit perfectly with the widespread anti-White, anticolonial, and Ethiopianist sentiments of the time. For the early Rastafari the article confirmed the new message: Haile Selassie had recently been enthroned as Emperor, and because he was the Messiah, it was logical in their eyes that he would head an organization of Black people aimed at overthrowing Whites and colonialism. Moreover, Philos's name suggested that he could be of Italian extraction, and given Rastafari views on Rome (including anti-Catholicism), it was not outrageous that people took the article seriously. Their views on Rome had precedence in other groups', such as the Bedwardites, criticisms of the Catholic Church in Jamaica. On another level, critical views of Rome were tied to the awareness that Romans crucified Christ, and that the Pope did not disapprove of Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 (accepting his "civilizing mission"). In 1935-37, the Rastafari were not the only ones agitated by the invasion of Ethiopia. Tens of thousands of Blacks in the United States and the Caribbean were protesting, and the emperor's face became an icon in the homes and hearts of many Blacks (for more on diverse Black reactions to the invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, see Weisbord 1970; Robinson 1985; Scott 1993; Yelvington 1999).

Philos's account of the Nya-Binghi fit with the emerging Rastafarian doctrines, particularly the view that White domination of Blacks was about to end, and that the meek (Blacks) would soon reign supreme. Despite the inaccuracies of Philos's propaganda, the article may have been the inspiration for the name of the oldest Rastafarian sect, the Nyabinghis. They defined the name to mean "death to White and Black oppressors." This is consistent with the themes and cries raised during the Morant Bay Rebellion: "death to the Whites and those Blacks who would not join them." Nyabinghi became the term associated with Rastafarian culture and identity.

Under the direction of Haile Selassie, the Ethiopian World Federation (EWF), founded by Dr. Malaku Bayen, was established in New York City in 1937. It was created as an organ to collect funds and build support for Ethiopia's war against the Italian fascists. The EWF preamble states:

30. The series was republished in installments in 1937 (February 6, 20, 27) in the paper *Plain Talk*.

"We the Black people of the world, in order to *effect Unity, Solidarity, Liberty, Freedom, and Self-determination, to secure Justice and maintain the Integrity of Ethiopia, which is our divine heritage*, do hereby establish and ordain this constitution for the Ethiopian World Federation [emphasis added]."<sup>31</sup> Many Jamaicans were clamoring for a branch of the EWF, and they received their wish in 1938. Local 17 of the EWF was founded in Kingston in August of 1938, organized by Rastafarian Paul Erlington, who also served as the first vice-president. The first president was L.F.C. Mantle, who formerly preached in the ghettos. Local 17 was organically linked to the nascent Rastafarians. Besides Erlington, H. Archibald Dunkley was a co-founder, and Joseph Hibbert, Vernal Davis, and Ferdinand Ricketts, all early social-justice-oriented Rastafarians, were members. The first EWF local did not remain active for long. In 1942, a second local, 31, was formed, and for a while Vernal Davis and Ferdinand Ricketts were among its members.

Apparently another EWF chapter was later formed, according to one Rastafarian elder and former EWF member, Brother Woks (whose godfather was Joseph Hibbert); this chapter had scores of Rastafarian members, as he tells it. Mamie Richardson, a deputy of the New York City EWF, visited Jamaica and

blessed the informal groups of BSUE (Brothers Solidarity of United Ethiopia) that same BSUE had changed to [the] ACL, the African Cultural League. When she came here it was either the BSUE or the ACL, one of them ... she blessed the group with a charter and named it His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie I First Local 37 of the Ethiopian World Federation.<sup>32</sup>

The Rastafarian movement grew more radical from the mid to late 1940s (the wearing of dreadlocks as a part of the ideology developed during this period) through the early 1960s (see Chevannes 1998; Homiak 1998). During this period the dreadlocks developed an ascetic anti-establishment and anticapitalism orientation. The ascetic expression was not new to the extent that some religionists had similar tendencies during the latter half of the 1800s (see Elkins 1977). The movement became truly pan-African when in 1961 the People's National Party (PNP) sponsored a mission to Africa that included Rastafarians and other Blacks. The "Majority Report" on the Mission to Africa noted the warm welcome received by the delegates, but dwelled on problems of migration, which included the issues of adjusting to African cultural norms, and Africa's desire to attract skilled and not poor emigrants. The Rastafarian delegates wrote their own "Minority Report" which focused on

31. The preamble can be found at the EWF website: <http://www.ethiopianworldfed.org/Constitution/constitution.htm>

32. Interview with Brother Woks, October 14, 1998.

the willingness of African governments to "co-operate in resettling people of African descent within their ancestral borders" (Nettleford 1972:69; see the *Minority Report* 1961).

## CONCLUSION

My aim has been to show how various elements of Ethiopianist thinking and praxis among three movements in Jamaica have a complicated and international ideological lineage. Even though it has been expressed in three nations, Ethiopianism has reflected a common Black experience in more than three centuries of slavery, discrimination, poverty, and the longing for redemption and freedom from oppression. Ethiopianism is a racialized model that develops culturally-constructed positive self-images of Black culture and history and that provides a critique of White hegemony and injustice and a blueprint for thinking about the redemption of Black people. It has informed Black insurgents, preachers, and lay people in numerous ways: ideas about righteousness, justice, and redemption in relation to race; ideas about the wrongness of White hegemony over interpretations of the Scriptures; ideas about Black redemption and the end of White hegemony, by force or divine intervention; and ideas about the egregiousness of Blacks participating in their own subjugation by assisting their oppressors in impeding their pursuit of liberty and autonomy. In some cases Ethiopianism has been associated with eruptions of militancy and activism, while in others it may have been a consolation that did not instigate action.

From the eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries, religion and the Bible played a significant role in many Black ideas about freedom, justice, dignity, and Black identity. Secularizing and deracinating influences have nearly caused the extinction of Ethiopianism. Yet, in Jamaica and elsewhere, the Rastafari, and especially survivors of the first two generations, are maintaining the tradition. Ethiopianism did not affect all strata and sectors of society equally, and disproportionately influenced the Black poor and petty bourgeoisie. Before the creation of the UNIA, the primary carriers of these ideas were typically preachers and seamen. With the establishment of UNIA chapters throughout the Black diaspora, there came to be a greater mingling of ideas about Blackness, justice, and redemption. In Jamaica the romantic and secular versions of Ethiopianism found fertile ground, the latter tendency coming later than in the United States and possibly even South Africa. Much of this exchange of information took place as a result of sharing literature or outright organizing and proselytizing.

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GLOBALIZATION, URBANIZATION, AND LANGUAGE IN  
CARIBBEAN DEVELOPMENT:  
THE ASSIMILATION OF ST. LUCIA

In the former and current British, French, and Dutch Caribbean, the folk-oriented masses have historically expressed themselves through the region's various creole cultures and languages. The numerically small elite classes, in contrast, have historically looked to and identified with the cultures and languages of metropolitan Europe to pattern West Indian social life. The city has been the primary conduit for cultural exchange, serving as a meeting ground between local creole culture and cultural influences from Europe, North America, and the greater Caribbean. Before World War II, the United Kingdom, France, and the Netherlands were held up in much of the urban Caribbean as uncontested, idealized models of society, with the creole culture of the popular classes garnering scant respect at best, or open hostility at worst. Since the end of World War II, the United States has rapidly grown in influence in the region, competing with Europe for local political, economic, and cultural hegemony. What is more, beginning in the 1970s and 1980s, urban-based movements to reevaluate creole culture and language emerged on the regional scene, adding further nuance and levels of complexity to the cultural orientation of Caribbean peoples, and addressing somewhat the historic imbalance between the prestigious cultural and linguistic forms of Europe and the denigrated forms of the black Caribbean.

This article examines the relationship between globalization, urbanization, and the city on the one hand, and the sociolinguistic development of the Caribbean on the other. St. Lucia, sitting in the Lesser Antilles, south of Martinique, north of St. Vincent, and west of Barbados, serves as a case study of the city, of cultural transmission and transformation, and the emergence of a regionalized islandwide English-speaking culture. Language, the means through which St. Lucians express and define individual, community, and national life, as well as their perceptions of and connections with the larger world, is the focal point of the article. Data from interviews with sixty

randomly selected residents of Castries, St. Lucia's capital and most important city, and forty randomly selected residents of Monchy, a small rural village in northeast St. Lucia, inform the study. A review of relevant historical sources and literature, data from unstructured interviews with current and former St. Lucian cultural nationalists and professionals working with language, and ethnographic research conducted by the author in St. Lucia during the summer months of 1997 also underpin this article.

### LANGUAGE IN THE CARIBBEAN

Urbanization – rural-to-urban shifts in populations as well as the increasing influence of urban areas on their hinterlands – and globalization – the ongoing integration of all parts of the world into a single political economy – are concomitant processes that affect the sociocultural evolution of Caribbean societies. The region has undergone rapid urbanization since the end of World War II. In the immediate postwar period, the region witnessed a boom of economic growth and prosperity. The global economy, with the United States at its summit, was in full upward swing, transforming in its wake traditional forms of social life in the Caribbean, particularly in rural communities traditionally somewhat removed from the influence of urban society and the larger global political economy. Rural residents, attracted to the growing employment opportunities that accompanied global economic expansion, increased their contact with the cities of the region in the hope of improving the quality of their lives. As the populations shifted from rural communities to the premier cities and as advances in transportation and technologies of communication broke down the historic isolation of the rural Caribbean, the influence of urban-based sociocultural norms grew.

In the Caribbean, despite political independence, a white or light-skinned minority continues to control the economy (Robotham 2000). Members of these urban upper and middle classes regularly use European languages to distance themselves from the darker-skinned creole-speaking popular classes (Brereton 1989). The sense of inferiority that the region's different creole speakers harbor about their languages constitutes a significant problem in efforts to elevate these languages to a more important role in Caribbean national life (Dalphinis 1985). Due to the unique history of social relations in the Caribbean, the Antillean creoles are among the most stigmatized of the world's languages (Alleyne 1987, 1994). These languages, therefore, face the global free market of national and international languages on very unequal footing. In the contemporary Caribbean, the influence of the former colonial languages – English, French, and Dutch – is formidable, particularly in the urban realm, at the level of formal and non-intimate discourse, among

the higher classes, and in education, national administration, business, and international communication.

Colonial legacy and the contemporary influence of urban society have resulted in a continued subordination and, in some cases, a gradual loss in the demographic strength of creole languages in the Caribbean. For example, although Haiti is the Caribbean territory in which creole is the most indispensable language for internal communication, Haitian Creole nonetheless suffers subordinate status vis-à-vis the official French, spoken primarily by a relatively small urban elite in Port-au-Prince (Chaudenson 1992; Dejean 1993).<sup>1</sup> In Jamaica, the second largest nation of the creole Caribbean, the national English-based Creole language similarly suffers from low prestige vis-à-vis standard Jamaican English, especially in urban zones (Patrick 1999). Elsewhere in the Anglophone Caribbean, English-based creole also enjoys little status compared to standard English (Fenigson 2000), with the possible exception of Belize, where Belizean Creole is widely spoken in urban centers and is considered by many as a national language (LePage & Tabouret-Keller 1985). In the French West Indies, French is the sole official language of the territories and the dominant vernacular of urban social life, although there are some cultural and nationalist movements to elevate the local creoles.<sup>2</sup> Finally, in Suriname, Dutch is replacing Sranan, the historic lingua franca of that country, as the primary language of public and private discourse in the capital city, Paramaribo (St-Hilaire 2001), although in Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao, the Iberian-based Papiamentu profits from a social status unparalleled in the Caribbean (Howe 1993).

In spite of the lingering colonial legacy, which undermines the status of the Antillean creoles, creole cultural nationalism, which became a relatively strong force in the region during the 1970s and 1980s, altered somewhat the social playing field for these languages.<sup>3</sup> Since the 1970s, much of the support for the promotion of the Caribbean creoles has been at the grassroots level (Charles 1990). The 1970s marked a profound change in public attitudes toward the languages (Devonish 1986). More people have come to value the creoles as symbols of national identity and have gained greater awareness of their communicative effectiveness (Alleyne 1994). Despite pan-Caribbean cultural nationalism, however, public recognition of the creole languages continues to be the exception (Winford 1994). Everywhere in the Caribbean, creole remains subordinate to the language of the former

1. See also Carrington, 1987. *Creole Discourse and Social Development*. A report prepared for the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean for submission to the International Development Research Centre.

2. Bebel-Gisler 1976; Numa 1986; Guilbault 1993; Prudent 1993; Schnepel 1993.

3. Dalphinis 1985; Devonish 1986; Brereton 1989; Oostindie 1996; St-Hilaire 1999.

European colonizer. The dual European and African heritage of the West Indies and the continued predominance of European languages and cultures inherited from the colonial period mitigate the impact of the pro-creole movements (Knight & Palmer 1989).

### ST. LUCIA: THE HISTORIC URBAN-RURAL DIVIDE

From its early history and onward, St. Lucia has been a meeting ground of different cultures. For example, between 1605, the date on which the English first attempted to colonize the island, and 1814, when the Treaty of Paris formally ceded the island to Great Britain, St. Lucia changed flags fourteen times. Castries, more than anywhere else on the island, has been the place where the different waves of invaders, colonists, slaves, migrants and their cultures came together. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the French and their slaves together established the dominant sociocultural patterns of rural St. Lucia, where people have historically spoken only Kwéyòl,<sup>4</sup> a French-oriented creole similar to those spoken in neighboring Martinique, Dominica, Guadeloupe, and Haiti (Graham 1985). An amalgamation of French and West-African linguistic elements and the mode of expression of traditional St. Lucian folk culture, Kwéyòl derives most of its lexicon from French and much of its syntax and phonology from various languages of the Niger-Congolese family (Dalphinis 1985).<sup>5</sup> During the second half of the nineteenth century, the British established the dominant sociocultural norms of urban Castries, where English has been the exclusive language of polite, public discourse and high society.

After the abolition of slavery in 1834, colonial officials vigorously strove to introduce English as the sole language of the island. The association of Kwéyòl and the Afro-French, creole culture with ignorance, backwardness, and poverty intensified. In an effort to bring progress and a particular concept of civilization to St. Lucia, colonial officials became actively hostile toward Kwéyòl and its associated culture (Alleyne 1961). Reflecting colonial attitudes of the period, Henry Breen (1844:185), one-time mayor of Castries, wrote disparagingly, "[t]he Negro language is a jargon formed

4. The term "Kwéyòl" is a neologism, coined in the early 1980s to label the language, formerly and still widely known as "Patois." Cultural nationalists believed that the term would confer higher status on the vernacular and thus be an aid in developing it as a national and official language of the island.

5. In analyzing the closely related Haitian Creole, Lefebvre (1989, 1998) also partially attributes the language's syntax and phonology to West African sources. Carrington (1992), however, attributes Kwéyòl's grammar to linguistic innovation in addition to carry-overs from West African languages.

from the French, and composed of words, or rather sounds, adapted to the organs of speech in the black population." The British used education as the primary means of imposing English language and culture, bringing in English-speaking Protestant teachers from Barbados, Jamaica, St. Vincent, Antigua, and the other British islands. However, according to Breen (1844: 262), these teachers had

great difficulties to contend with, especially the paralyzing prevalence of the Negro language amongst the vast majority of their pupils. In proportion to the extent of this difficulty has been the success of their exertions, the most sensible result of which is the all but universal adoption of the English language by the children of the present day.

The English-speaking Protestant teachers helped carry out Great Britain's project of civilization, denigrating the Kwéyòl language and the Afro-French, Creole culture in the eyes of St. Lucian children. English-speaking military officers and colonial administrators accompanied the teachers to St. Lucia, where the great majority took up residency in Castries, the island's main port and link to the larger Caribbean and the world. Language became an instant marker of social status. English speakers assumed positions of high status in island society. Kwéyòl speakers remained confined to the lowest social echelons. Mastery of spoken English became a prerequisite for upward mobility in colonial society. Due to St. Lucia's mountainous geography and poor system of internal transportation and communication, however, the influence of the British civilizing project remained largely confined to greater Castries through the end of the nineteenth century. During the second half of the nineteenth century, a sociolinguistic and sociocultural schism emerged between English-speaking, modern, and outward-looking Castries and the island's Kwéyòl-speaking, folk-oriented, and inward-looking rural communities.

#### THE CITY AND SOCIOCULTURAL CHANGE

In 1921, 11.5 percent of the total St. Lucian population lived in Castries (Momsen 1996). At emancipation, the freed slaves preferred to stay in established rural villages or in scattered squatter settlements. As public education in, and Anglophone migration to, the rural districts remained limited, the settlement patterns of ex-slaves encouraged the continued vigorous use of Kwéyòl. However, after 1921 the economy became more diversified and urban based, exposing greater numbers of St. Lucians to English and to the anti-Kwéyòl attitudes of Castries. Nonetheless, bananas rose in importance as a commodity after World War I, encouraging many Kwéyòl speakers to remain in the rural districts where the use and status of

Kwéyòl remained strong. Moreover, while the Barbadian-based Anglican Church provided a model for the urban Anglophone culture of Castries,<sup>6</sup> the Roman Catholic Church continued to favor the maintenance of Kwéyòl in rural St. Lucia, switching to this language from French at the beginning of the twentieth century (Vaughan 1979; Anthony & Louisy 1983).

On the whole, the first half of the twentieth century is marked by a steady shift toward English. In 1911, for example, 61.7 percent of the St. Lucian population knew no English. In 1921, this figure fell modestly to 60.1 percent. In 1946, however, only 43.4 percent of the total population knew no English (*West Indian Census* 1950). The proportion of St. Lucians not knowing English was lowest in Castries and highest in the rural districts. In 1946, for example, only 9 percent of Castries professed no knowledge of English. Moreover, among young people aged ten to fourteen, 32.3 percent islandwide knew no English in 1946, significantly less than the national average. These data indicate an Anglicization of the St. Lucian population throughout the island, signaling a breakdown of the historic sociolinguistic cleavage between Castries and rural St. Lucia. However, before and in 1946, there is no evidence that St. Lucians were abandoning Kwéyòl with the acquisition of English. To the contrary, the proportion of Kwéyòl speakers remained relatively steady from the 1911 to the 1921 and 1946 censuses.

The period following World War II, ushering in rapid growth in the global economy, brought greater urbanization to and increased the importance of the city in St. Lucia. By 1960, 19.4 percent of the island population lived in Castries (Alleyne 1961). The establishment of manufacturing industries in, and an increase in the volume of trade through, Castries served to attract migrants from the countryside and from the English-speaking Caribbean. However, despite the increase in manufacturing, bananas became St. Lucia's primary export commodity. With the advent of large-scale banana production came the need for an islandwide road infrastructure to facilitate the quick transport of bananas to the port of Castries upon harvest for export to the United Kingdom. An improved islandwide system of roads brought predominantly English-speaking Castries and the predominantly Kwéyòl-speaking rural districts in close and sustained contact for the first time in St. Lucia's history. The expansion of the island's network of roads was accompanied by an increase in the influence of radio and television as well as of formal education. Taken together, these post-1945 factors have had the effect of strengthening the position of English and undermining the status of Kwéyòl. Monolingual Kwéyòl speakers became increasingly rare and stigmatized, while the dominant and prestigious English language of Castries

6. Robert LePage & Andrée Tabouret-Keller, 1977. Sociolinguistic Survey of Multilingual Communities, Stage II: St. Lucia, West Indies. Report to the Direction générale des recherches scientifiques et techniques, Paris.

usurped greater amounts of public and private social space from Kwéyòl throughout the island.

The economic, political, cultural, and demographic importance of Castries has continued to grow in relation to the rest of the island since the 1960s. According to the St. Lucian Census of 1991, 39 percent of the island population resides in Castries district. In addition to a disproportionate share of the island population, Castries is home to the parliament and ministries of the national government, most of the island's banking and industry, the chief port for international trade, an international airport, foreign consulates and embassies, much of St. Lucia's foreign-born population, the print, radio and television media, and institutions of higher learning. Moreover, Castries is St. Lucia's political, economic, and cultural link to CARICOM, and serves as the administrative center for the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, a political and economic union joining the English-speaking islands of the Lesser Antilles. What is more, Castries is the chief place of contact for hundreds of thousands of English-speaking tourists from North America and Europe who visit the island annually via cruise ship and airplane. The influence of the outside English-speaking world makes itself felt most heavily in and through Castries.

#### KWÉYÒL CULTURAL NATIONALISM

In St. Lucia, Kwéyòl cultural nationalism is predominantly an urban movement, based in Castries. With roots in the Black Power and Caribbean Black Consciousness movements of the 1970s, the St. Lucian cultural nationalist movement initially drew on the support of a group of relatively well-educated young people from middle-class, English-speaking Castries families (St-Hilaire 2000). These young people, who were primarily secondary students during the early 1970s, worked under the guidance of a young Catholic priest and later formed the Folk Research Centre (FRC), the main organization in St. Lucia dedicated to the preservation and promotion of Kwéyòl. The objectives of the FRC during its first years of existence were to conduct research on St. Lucian folk culture; to initiate and direct programs for sociocultural change, particularly in relation to national development; and to sensitize St. Lucians to the importance of their cultural heritage (Rohlehr 1993). The FRC arose in part in reaction to most St. Lucians' narrow view of Creole culture, typically limited to a handful of annual folk festivals and dances. The main deliberate and most successful outcome of the work of the FRC has been the annual *Jounen Kwéyòl*, or International Creole Day, now the island's largest national holiday. Initially a one-day, one-site event in 1984 attracting relatively few participants and onlookers, *Jounen Kwéyòl* has evolved into a month-long, islandwide series of activities and festivities

in which thousands of St. Lucians participate. During *Jounen Kwéyòl* St. Lucians of all social strata are encouraged to speak Kwéyòl, the radio stations broadcast extensively in the language, and the schools expose children to Kwéyòl-centered learning activities.

Another outgrowth of the expanding influence of cultural nationalism during and after the 1970s, but not directly tied to the efforts of the FRC, has been the increased use of Kwéyòl in radio broadcasting not only during *Jounen Kwéyòl*, but throughout the year. Historically, radio has been the exclusive domain of English. Kwéyòl first appeared on the radio in 1971 with the broadcast of a commercial by Chase Manhattan Bank encouraging rural St. Lucians to deposit their money into the bank.<sup>7</sup> In 1974, a French-owned radio station began airing an hour-long broadcast each evening that consisted of news and entertainment in Kwéyòl. It turned out to be a success, spurring on the development of other Kwéyòl-language radio shows. The establishment of Kwéyòl radio programming prompted politicians to make announcements in the language (Frank 1993). In addition, the business community, historically averse to risk, began to invest heavily in Kwéyòl-language advertising, further enhancing the status of the language (Samuel 1992). The use of Kwéyòl on the radio has had a powerful legitimizing effect on the language.

#### GLOBAL INFLUENCE IN ST. LUCIA: INTEGRATION INTO THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD

The post-1970 gains in the status of Kwéyòl notwithstanding, the language continues to yield to the globally and locally dominant English in public and private domains of use. Kwéyòl, a language not even spoken by all of the 150,000 people living on resource-poor, geographically small St. Lucia; burdened by a historic association with ignorance and poverty, and lacking the institutional support that English enjoys, fares poorly in internationally open, highly stratified St. Lucian society. One cultural nationalist active in the pro-Kwéyòl movement since the early 1980s identified the perception of St. Lucia as a member of a larger and predominantly English-speaking world as working against organized efforts to elevate Kwéyòl, particularly among the more affluent of the island: "It's perhaps a group of yuppie ... upcoming professionals who have this distinct notion that we have to be part of a global society and that everything which prevents us from getting in should be dropped ... which to some extent to them includes the language." However, many St. Lucians also express concern over the loss of what is distinctly St. Lucian to outside influences, as articulated by another cultural nationalist

7. Carrington, 1987. Creole Discourse and Social Development.



who joined the movement in the early 1970s and has maintained involvement through grassroots community development work:

Right now we are faced with a ... an entrance into our society, into our culture of North America in forms that we are not even prepared in any way to resist or to stand up against. So when we talk about the technological capabilities of companies who are coming in with North American images, North American lifestyles ... one that is bombarded at us. It's all we see on our TVs. It's all we hear. It's a struggle to combat. You have artificial demand that development has created ... and ... society has not naturally grown to satisfy the hunger for things that are on the television. Young people are not interested in a lot of the national culture. They want to learn ... basketball, they want to learn rap, they want to dress in a tropical country with layers and layers of clothes. Because that's what they see on TV ... They want to speak English.

The current dominance of the United States throughout the Caribbean conditions much of the sociocultural development of St. Lucia. U.S. influence is particularly strong in the mass media. Television programming and, to a lesser extent, American music have inundated St. Lucian airwaves. The influence of television is relatively recent. As late as 1973, Lieberman (1974) reports that television reception did not exist on most of the island. By the 1990s, however, through modern technologies in telecommunications, homes around the island could pick up locally broadcasted programming in addition to paid satellite television. In spite of the spreading of television, local content on St. Lucian televised airwaves is limited primarily to newscasts. The bulk of television programming, transmitted both domestically and via satellite, is composed of U.S. series and movies. In 1998, thanks to the British-owned telecommunications company, Cable and Wireless, sixteen additional channels were made available to St. Lucians. Two originated in St. Lucia, one in Barbados, one in Martinique, and the remaining twelve emanated from the United States. Even on the two St. Lucian channels, foreign English-language content constituted 90 percent of all programming. Faria (1993) posited that cultural forms indigenous to the island are in danger of extinction in the face of U.S. foreign cultural penetration via television. Dalphinis (1993) adds that U.S. television is eroding both traditional St. Lucian culture and the status of Kwéyòl among young people.

Foreign cultural penetration of St. Lucia is reinforced by population transfers and links between St. Lucia and the English-speaking world. St. Lucians rely heavily on emigration in the hope of earning a living. Nearly 2 percent of the national population leaves the island each year in search of work (Hornbeck 1989). Historically, most St. Lucians have opted for the United Kingdom. The number of St. Lucians and children born to St. Lucians in the United Kingdom is probably equivalent to more than 25 percent of the current national population of St. Lucia. Most St. Lucians

have family members living in the United Kingdom. In addition, more than 15,000 St. Lucians have migrated to and set up permanent residence in the United States (Kasinitz & Vickerman 1999). Thousands more live in English-speaking Canada. Conversely, there is a small, but economically influential community of British, American, and Canadian expatriates on the island in addition to hundreds of non-St. Lucian English-speaking Antilleans. The influence of the foreign-born on the island is augmented by a multitude of English-speaking tourists who visit St. Lucia each year, supporting the many St. Lucians who make their living in the important tourism sector of the island economy.

St. Lucians are well aware of English as an asset in an increasingly English-speaking world and in an increasingly English-speaking St. Lucia. Nearly one-half of all informants who felt that it was important for children to learn English expressed the international importance of the language as the primary reason. St. Lucians value English because it offers them a door of access to a larger and more economically prosperous world, both on and off the island. A forty-nine-year-old construction worker living on the outskirts of Castries and who speaks Kwéyòl as his first and best language emphasized the importance for children of learning English in order to make it in the world: "[It's] very important because in the English system ... it's a universal system. When you speak English, you'll be recognized into the world. And English is becoming very important to be speaking in any nation because once you speak English, therefore you broaden yourself into the world ... English is presently dominating the world." An elderly retired woman in Castries added, "St. Lucia should be an English place, huh? It wouldn't do any harm. Suppose that you have to travel, it's English that will get you there."

Another informant, a nineteen-year-old recent secondary school graduate with a perfect command of English, highlighted the growing attraction of English among young people (her younger siblings were watching a U.S. television program while their sister and I spoke):

The children nowadays learn ... are more interested in English. And when it comes to um ... like, if they ... For example, when you go to job interviews, they will not ask you questions in Patois. And they are not looking for any kind of English. They are looking for standard English. So, I think they should raise their level of English and ... They should leave the Patois out of it.

However, not all young St. Lucians unreservedly embrace English. A nineteen-year-old Castries fisherman with a primary school education expressed some alienation and discomfort with the trend toward the increased societal dominance of English:

Being that standard English coming in style and dem books start coming out and different things ... People that are working for the government system, computer and computerized thing, it's strictly English you need to work with. They trying to kill all the Kwéyòl for you to learn more English. If you want a job, they expect you to speak standard English. That's why English is important. But I tell you both are important. Both should be practiced. If you come speaking Patois, you will not get the job. That's the way the system flow. But if you come speaking the polite standard English asking for a job very nice, you understand? ... you will get it.

### THE URBAN INFLUENCE: NATIONAL CONVERGENCE TO CASTRIES-BASED NORMS

Castries is not only St. Lucia's gateway to the larger world, the city is also the traditional and contemporary center of English-speaking St. Lucian culture. A theme that arose from ethnographic research on the island and from interviews with residents of Castries and rural St. Lucia is that of linguistic and cultural integration between the capital city and the hinterland. English is becoming more widely spoken throughout the nation.<sup>8</sup> Everywhere on the island, even in those areas that have been historically monolingually Kwéyòl-speaking, a very conscious effort is made to raise children in English. Many St. Lucian adults consider it bordering on child abuse to raise a child in Kwéyòl. The author observed no instance in which parents made any sustained attempt to raise their children in both languages. Children, whether in Castries or in small, rural, and traditionally Kwéyòl-speaking villages, are expected to speak English, at least until they reach adolescence. The strategy appears to be working. Among themselves, children everywhere on the island tend to converse exclusively in English, even when there are no adults to monitor their behavior. In spite of nearly three decades of pro-Kwéyòl cultural nationalism, English is still perceived as the sole language of success, both at home on the island and in making one's way abroad.

The current near-universal use of English and limited knowledge of Kwéyòl among St. Lucia's young people is the result of more than a century and a half of educational policy and social norms emanating from English-speaking, anti-Kwéyòl Castries. The influence of traditional anti-Kwéyòl attitudes in Castries has played no small role in denigrating the status of the language among rural St. Lucians. Historically, rural St. Lucians, who until the recent past spoke only modest amounts of English, if any at all, have

8. *Standard* English is not universally or even widely spoken. St. Lucian vernacular English, somewhat removed from standard English and influenced by Kwéyòl, is widely spoken by St. Lucians of all ages both in and outside Castries (see Garrett 2000).

been subject to ridicule when making incursions into Castries. An informant in her forties, from the small fishing village of Gros Islet north of Castries, associated negative childhood experiences of being caught speaking Kwéyòl in her rural community to the negative experiences of her mother's generation when visiting Castries:

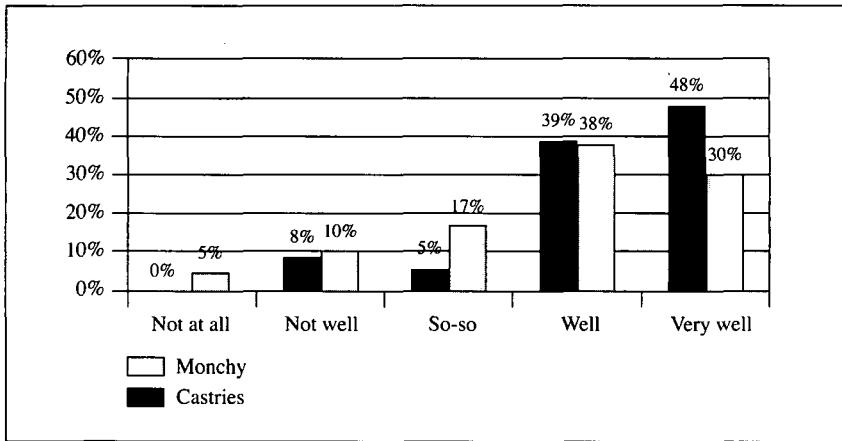
I remember going to school in the country and we were being monitored along the road. If we spoke Kwéyòl along the road, then we'd be reported. And the following day, we would be beaten at school if we were caught speaking Kwéyòl ... because that is what we knew. That is how we communicated with our friends. I mean in class you would try to speak English because you did not want to get beat. But on the road, I mean it was a free-for-all. People were monitored even before that. As my mother said, it was worse because they, as country people, would go into town to sell their goods ... and people always called them as country bouk ... you know, treated you as uneducated, illiterate people with nothing to offer ... and this kind of attitude.

An informant in his early thirties from the southern coastal village of Soufrière and currently working as an English teacher in a Castries-area secondary school related a story of the adverse effects of internalized anti-Kwéyòl attitudes within his own family:

In my case ... at home everybody in the house spoke Kwéyòl. I alone spoke English. My mother could hardly speak English. So, she used to speak to me in Kwéyòl, but I could not answer her in Kwéyòl. I had to answer her in English. It was like, "You should know better." Like they sending you to school to learn this thing and to do it right and so on ... "So don't, don't speak this filthy language," and that kind of stuff. I would be chastised for even using the language.

Although in 1946, 43.3 percent of all St. Lucians claimed not to be able to speak English, currently the overwhelming majority of St. Lucians have some competence in the language. Negative attitudes toward Kwéyòl originating from Castries society facilitated the spread of English, as did the rapid expansion of access to and the enrollment of the vast majority of age-appropriate children in public primary schools since World War II. Published estimates put the proportion of English speakers on the island at 80 percent (Alexander 1981; Isaac 1986; Hornbeck 1989; Samuel 1992). However, 1997 field research suggests that this percentage may be higher today (see Table 1). Castries residents self-report high levels of competence in the language. In addition, all randomly selected Castries informants indicated that English was the primary, if not exclusive, language of the home. Moreover, the only time the author observed the public use of Kwéyòl anywhere in Castries was at the port customs office. In this instance, a customs agent was giving procedural instructions in Kwéyòl to a mixed group of St. Lucians and

Table 1. English-Speaking Ability



Martinicans who were waiting to embark a French-owned inter-island ferry destined for Martinique.<sup>9</sup>

In Monchy levels of self-reported competence in English are also high, although in general Monchy residents lag somewhat behind Castries residents in their English-language ability. However, even in rural Monchy only 5 percent of informants claimed no ability in the language. In all Monchy households save one, parents strove to raise their children exclusively in English. The only exception was of a monolingual Kwéyòl-speaking grandmother who lived alone with her nine-year-old grandchild. Moreover, in both Castries and Monchy mastery of English is inversely related to age and education. Older residents, particularly the rural and poorly educated, tend to struggle most in making themselves understood in English. Informants in Monchy who spoke no English or did not speak it well were over sixty years of age and did not complete primary school. Informants in Castries who did not speak English well were also over sixty years of age, had little or no formal education, and moved to the city from the countryside as adults. All informants under thirty years of age, whether in Castries or Monchy, identified English as their preferred and best-spoken language.

#### THE PLACE OF KWÉYÒL IN CONTEMPORARY NATIONAL LIFE

In spite of approximately thirty years of pro-Kwéyòl cultural nationalism, including the increased use of Kwéyòl on the radio and the rise of *Jounen*

9. In each of the two islands' French-based creoles, St. Lucians and Martinicans can communicate without great difficulty.

*Kwéyòl* as St. Lucia's largest national holiday, the language is receding as a medium of communication in the family, the community, and the nation. Many young informants, particularly those still in school, professed to speak no *Kwéyòl* or not to speak it well. There is a perception shared by many St. Lucians that knowledge of *Kwéyòl* interferes with a child's ability to speak and write English and, hence, to do well academically. English remains the sole language of upward and outward mobility. However, most St. Lucians, both in Castries and the rural districts, attach symbolic importance to *Kwéyòl* as a language of national identity. For example, a twenty-year-old teacher in Castries emphasized the need for St. Lucia to retain *Kwéyòl* as a marker of distinctiveness in the world of nations:

I think *Kwéyòl* is important because St. Lucia is a very open country and it is easily influenced by a lot of other cultures ... like America and Britain. And you find that slowly we are ... we are losing our distinctive aspect of our culture. So, I think if we can keep something that is distinctive to ourselves, it would help to really signal St. Lucia out from other countries.

Another informant, a middle-aged Castries laborer, evoked Biblical imagery in stressing the importance of *Kwéyòl*:

Your first language ... it's a gift given by the All-mighty. This is what you've been created of. And if you have to neglect that language or pack it completely and adopt [another] language, you become an adopted child ... but not a legitimate child. So, you see Patois is very important just like English or any other language for that matter in the development of our society.

Nevertheless, the symbolic importance does not translate into acceptance of *Kwéyòl* as a language of instruction in the schools or as a language to use in the home with young children. One eighty-four-year-old Castries housewife summed up a line of thought common among St. Lucians that works against the promotion and elevation of *Kwéyòl*, particularly among the young:

To me *Kwéyòl* don't take you anywhere. It doesn't matter to me. I would say it is better that we are speaking English. When the children go to school, the two main subjects are English and math. So they must do English. They must know English. People should use less *Kwéyòl* in St. Lucia because when you go to school, you must do English ... and you must pass in English and in math.

This woman's views are particularly salient given the competitive nature of admittance to all secondary schools on the island. Only one half of all age-appropriate children gain admittance to secondary school. An island-wide written test in English is used to determine the postprimary educational

future of all St. Lucian youth. Given the competition for limited space in St. Lucia's secondary schools and the requisite written proficiency in standard English, it is not surprising that Kwéyòl is still viewed as a handicap, despite the language's gain in value as a symbol of national identity.

This being said, Kwéyòl does enjoy some status as a language of informal communication and camaraderie among some adults and above all as a language of joking and profanity. A thirty-four-year-old middle-class Castries teacher with some college education and who was raising his daughter exclusively in English said the only time he uses Kwéyòl is with older people who speak little else or, "if there's a joke ... a joke sounds better in Kwéyòl." A fourteen-year-old student from a working-class Castries neighborhood also said the only time he uses Kwéyòl is when making jokes. A twenty-four-year-old man from one of the rural districts who works as a night service person in a hotel catering to many U.S. tourists good-naturedly added that the only time he uses the language is, "when I crack a joke ... or when I crack a joke about an American ..." Moreover, one young woman in Monchy who had recently graduated from secondary school stated that the only time she uses Kwéyòl at home is when she is angry with her sister. Kwéyòl, she said, is a powerful tool for reproaching or insulting someone.

Although Kwéyòl enjoys status as a language of informal discourse within limited domains – i.e., for joking and expressing strong emotions – and has increased value as a symbol of St. Lucian nationhood, the language has not made significant gains in daily use. In Castries, Kwéyòl has not been a language of polite, public discourse for more than a century. If people spoke it, they generally did so behind closed doors. This remains true today. Furthermore, it is not unlikely that fewer residents of Castries today speak the language at home than previous generations. In rural St. Lucia, the language has historically been the primary medium of communication in both the family and the village. This is no longer the case. Among Monchy informants, 83 percent reported that the use of Kwéyòl has declined in St. Lucia over the past thirty years. A thirty-six-year-old seamstress in Monchy with children of her own explained the nationwide trend away from the language, using her own family's history as an example:

I think less Patois is spoken now than when I was a child. Because I could remember when I was a little girl going to school, all the children would be speaking Patois on the road to school. But now you hardly have any child that speaks Patois ... The parents are not speaking Patois like that ... time by time, you see, Patois is decreasing ... from the old generation that's dying out and the young generation that's coming in. The old generation speak Patois to their children. The children speak English to their children, you understand? So, therefore ... my great grandmother died already. And she speaking Patois alone. So, she died already. My grandmother can speak it (English) a little. And then my mother speak it

to me fluent. So, then I have to speak it to my children, too, you know? So, therefore, the Patois died. So, you hear the children on the way to school speaking English, you understand?

## CONCLUSION

In St. Lucia, a result of increased globalization – i.e., increased integration with the English-speaking world – has been an elevation of the status of English in relation to Kwéyòl among St. Lucians, young and old, urban and rural. St. Lucians – especially young St. Lucians – faced with limited opportunities on their island of birth frequently look abroad for their future. The growing influence of the United States via television has further fueled desires in the hearts and minds of the young for a better life elsewhere. As all St. Lucians know, their ticket off the island is through mastery of the English language. St. Lucia's window to the outside, English-speaking world is Castries. Like most Caribbean territories and, indeed, developing countries throughout the world, St. Lucia has witnessed profound sociocultural change at the national level primarily through its capital and largest city. Castries-based norms, including anti-Kwéyòl bias, have spread throughout the island. As a result, rural St. Lucia is in many ways today like urban St. Lucia. English is the uncontested language of prestige and the preferred medium for daily communication across the island, in individual rural communities, and in most families. This reality leaves Kwéyòl an orphaned child, without the nurturing necessary for its sustenance.

Nevertheless, cultural nationalism made some significant gains over the past three decades. An ostensibly Kwéyòl-oriented festival has become the island's largest national holiday and is now even marketed abroad for its potential for further developing regional tourism. Moreover, St. Lucians can now hear Kwéyòl on the radio nearly every morning and every evening of the week. However, these gains have been insufficient to reverse or halt the trend toward the Anglicization of the historically Kwéyòl-speaking rural districts. In addition, the government has failed to take a more active role to prevent the demise of the language by introducing it as a language of national administration and education – a demand of many cultural nationalists. Consequently, although many St. Lucians emphasize the value of Kwéyòl as a key component in St. Lucian identity, the vast majority will do nothing that they perceive will reduce their children's opportunities for economic advancement, both at home and abroad. This includes teaching their children Kwéyòl or advocating its use in school. St. Lucian parents still consider Kwéyòl unworthy of perpetuity in their offspring. By continuing the tradition of denigrating Kwéyòl in the minds of young children, islanders push the language further to the margins of St. Lucian society. The results of



this tradition remain to be seen. However, it is likely sooner, rather than later that these results will be definitively known.

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TRACING THE PAÏDEUMA IN AIMÉ CÉSAIRE'S POETRY:  
FROM *SOLAR THROAT SLASHED (SOLEIL COU-COUPÉ)* TO  
*CADASTER (CADASTRE)*

In his book *Aimé Césaire: Une traversée paradoxale du siècle*, the *créoliste* Raphaël Confiant (1993) harshly criticizes the apparent disassociation between the former *député's* revolutionary poetics and his moderate, even ineffectual, political policies. Other critics, including Auguste Armet (1973) and Lilyan Kesteloot (1992) also note the paradox between the poet's inspiration of the African independence and American Black Power movements and his failure to achieve autonomy for his own island nation of Martinique. James Arnold (1981:269) argues that the new independence of African nations of the early 1960s, in contrast with the lack of political change in Martinique, brought about a crisis for the negritude prophet of political revolution that led him to abandon poetry for the theater. In his discussion of Césaire's (1967) play *A Season in the Congo (Une saison au Congo)*, Jacques Corzani (1978:17) writes that the poet-turned-playwright seemed to have renounced the term and the ideology of negritude beginning in 1971. I believe that Césaire underwent an even earlier disillusionment with negritude as a worldwide movement of black liberation. The term first appeared in 1939<sup>1</sup> in Césaire's (1983) *Notebook of a Return to the Native Land (Cahier d'un retour au pays natal)*, but by the early 1960s the poet realized that the literary and political movement that negritude had engendered was being superseded. It was during this critical period that Césaire edited his 1948 collection of poetry *Solar Throat Slashed (Soleil cou-coupé)* for its republication in the 1961 volume *Cadaster (Cadastre)* (both in Césaire 1983).

1. Several scholars claim that the neologism *négritude* was first published in the single issue of *L'Étudiant noir*, dated March 1935. In 2001, A. James Arnold personally checked the archives in Aix-en-Provence. He confirmed that only one issue appeared, but did not find the term *négritude* in it. Instead he found a short article by Césaire entitled "Nègreries: Jeunesse noire et assimilation." (Arnold, personal communication)

James Arnold (1981:191-92) and Aliko Songolo (1985:121) both observe the omission of many surrealist images in *Cadaster* and surmise Césaire's abandonment of automatic writing, which would never have been edited. They believe the poet was attempting to be more accessible to the Martiniquan people in keeping with his role as their leader. However, Arnold (1981:219) also notes that the *Cadaster* edition of "Ode to Guinea,"<sup>2</sup> which celebrates the first African nation to break with France, contains "none of the incantatory evocations of plants, whereas the original edition contained some sixteen lines governed by this imagery." I suggest that the eight most radically edited of the poems of *Solar Throat Slashed*<sup>3</sup> attest to the systematic deletion of many references to the Païdeuma, a nonscientific ethnological theory positing the inevitable evolutionary predominance of the black race. The plant imagery in particular was frequently edited out. While the influence of the Païdeuma is apparent in the 1948 versions, the emergence of individual African nations coupled with neocolonial repression of political unrest in Martinique forced Césaire to abandon significant aspects of this concept based on a mythical, unified Africa. In addition, the theory's Hamitic/Ethiopian cultural dichotomy could foster ethnic as well as religious conflict in a postcolonial Africa (Ita 1973:335).

The Païdeuma is part of the conception of civilization proposed by the German ethnologist Leo Frobenius (1936). His *Kulturgeschichte Africas*, first published in 1933, and published in 1936 by Gallimard as *Histoire de la civilisation africaine (The History of African Civilization)*, had a profound effect on the thought and works of the Latin Quarter blacks, especially Aimé Césaire, Léopold Sédar Senghor, and Léon-Gontran Damas, the founders of the negritude movement. Regarding the impact of this book's publication in French translation, Lilyan Kesteloot (1974:94-95) writes:

[F]or the first time, a Western scholar not only acknowledged that there was an African civilization, but that its value, both social and artistic, was high. He ennobled it, moreover, by tracing it back to the very cradle of culture. With what enthusiasm the young blacks read Frobenius! Césaire and Senghor confess their passion for this book, which from beginning to end showed the richness and complexity of African civilizations, an admiration recorded in many of their own writings.

2. Not to be confused with "Salute to Guinea" of Césaire's 1960 poetry collection *Shackles (Ferremets)* (in Césaire 1983).

3. These poems are "Cheval" ("Horse"), "La loi est nue" ("The Law is Naked"), "Couteaux-midi" ("Noon Knives"), "Ode à la Guinée" ("Ode to Guinea"), "La Pluie" ("Rains"), "Al'Afrique" ("To Africa"), "Quelconque" ("Trite"), and "Chevelure" ("Your Hair").

However nonscientific and vague the original German work may have been – however confused and poorly written the French translation – here at last was a conceptual framework for the French negritude movement which was not the invention of an obscure negrophile scribbler, but the synthesized work of one of the greatest European authorities in the field of ethnology (Steins 1981:919, 948). Frobenius's contemporary ethnologists disagreed with this assessment of him. They criticized his historical approach, his anthropological fieldwork, and his archeological excavation methods, but they never bothered to refute his culture-historical methodology, which established historical connections between cultures. A scholar without a university degree or even a baccalaureat diploma, Frobenius was nevertheless a genius, an ardent Africanophile who visited the continent six times to gather data in support of his theories based, not on reason, but on his own intuition. His recognition of the significance of firsthand observation at a time when most anthropologists relied on secondhand accounts, and his fieldwork in sub-Saharan Africa as early as 1904<sup>4</sup>, attest to the originality of his thought (Ita 1973:309). According to Kesteloot (1974:94 n.6), "It would be irrelevant to check the veracity of Frobenius's assertions – the investigations of this great ethnologist have often been shown insufficient. What counts is the impression his book made on black students in [interwar] Paris."

Political and intellectual turmoil made the interwar period (1919-39) the pivot of twentieth-century history and the crucible of black African movements which would drive postwar decolonization (Bessis 1985:5-6). Agitational and ideological politics was not allowed in the French colonies but was permitted in Paris, birthplace of human rights. Paris was one of the meeting points between cultural Pan-Africanism from black Anglophone America, French West Africa, and more indirectly the Hispanic and Lusophone African diaspora. These movements were a reaction against centuries of myths based on suspect hermeneutics and pseudo-science's inferiorizing the black race in order to justify its political domination.<sup>5</sup> During the nineteenth century, there was a crisis in race relations represented by intensified anti-black propaganda, and increased worldwide political, social, and economic subjugation of blacks (Langley 1973:17). Late nineteenth-century political and social tendencies contributed to patterns of thought combining idealism, or the method of contrasting ideal types, with pseudo-Darwinism, which explained the origins of political development by assigning different attributes to human groups. From the European perspective, the classification of races and itemization of their

4. Frobenius's private African archives are housed at the Frobenius Institute in Frankfurt.

5. See Perbal 1940, MacGaffey 1966, and Sanders 1969.

characteristics functioned as a sanctioning of the colonization of nonwhite races (MacGaffey 1966:7). It could also authorize their persecution.

Ethnologists of the early twentieth century believed that the African continent was inhabited by two groups, the Caucasoids and the Negroids, and by mixtures of the two. These respective categories do not correspond exactly with Frobenius's "Hamites"<sup>6</sup> and "Ethiopians," which are essentially cultural rather than racial (Ita 1972:674). However, other intellectuals made these connections. Although the association of race and culture has since been abandoned for a genetic approach, at the time these two racial types were considered absolute and universal. Hamites were believed to possess greater political capability, while Ethiopians were considered non-state-forming peoples in need of leadership. At the Conference of Berlin (November 15, 1884 to February 26, 1885) the "magnificent African cake," in the words of Leopold II of Belgium, was divided between fifteen European powers. The idea of black Africa as a vast European colony dates from this period and reappeared for different reasons in the interwar period (Ndumbe 1983:241). European colonization of Africa perpetuated the myth of black inferiority.

World War I had revealed the horrors of technological warfare, undermining the European superiority complex from within. Tens of thousands of black French soldiers had died during the war, and this *dette de sang* cried out for citizen's rights, which were not automatically granted. Many former *tirailleurs* had asked to be demobilized in Paris, where they learned of anticolonial and anti-oppressive movements. There had been black representation in the French Chambre des Députés since 1914, when Blaise Diagne of Senegal became the first African to be elected. Black American soldiers returned home with word of the apparent absence of racial segregation in French public life, and several Harlem Renaissance leaders came to live in Paris. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, communist internationals began to attract anticolonial activists, although the issue of racism would be addressed only later. The *mission civilisatrice* of French colonialism was not questioned by the French public, but since the turn of the century the European avant-garde had discovered *l'Art nègre*. Josephine

6. The word "Hamite" derives from Ham, the name of the youngest son of Noah, and designates his descendants. According to the "Curse of Ham," recounted in "Genesis" Chapter 9, Ham showed disrespect toward his drunken father's nakedness. Noah therefore cursed Ham's son Canaan to be "a servant of [his brothers'] servants." Although the Bible makes no racial distinction between Noah's sons, by AD 600 the Babylonian Talmud, a collection of Jewish oral traditions, relates that Ham's descendants were cursed by being black-skinned and degenerate. This concept rationalized the Israelites' subjugation of the land of Canaan (Sanders 1969:521-22). In the nineteenth century, Hamites came to be considered Caucasoids, also for political reasons (Sanders 1969:527).



Baker, "la Divine Mulâtresse," and her "revue nègre" were the rage, and American jazz was heard in some Parisian nightclubs. In 1931, L'Exposition coloniale internationale opened in Paris for six months, and was visited by 34 million people. By the early 1930s, the American Pan-Africanism of W.E.B. DuBois and Marcus Garvey were being talked about in Paris. The stage was set for the birth of many diverse black movements, claiming their right to liberty, equality, and the originality and excellence of their culture (Dewitte 1985:13).

Groups such as the Ligue pour la Défense de la Race Nègre (1927-31) rejected political assimilation, attacked European civilization, emphasized African history, and supported the demand for political independence. These Parisian groups were a part of worldwide Pan-Africanism and third-world internationalism. But they were countered by the rise of fascism, the re-emergence of Gobineau's<sup>7</sup> hierarchy of races, and the concept of the "French race" (Dewitte 1985:256). Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933, the date *Kulturgeschichte Africas* was published. The Nazi regime's greater violence toward Jews and other foreigners increased the black colonials' desire for independence on a continental scale (Spiegler 1968:216).

After Germany's defeat in World War I, the Treaty of Versailles had divested Germany of its four African colonies, and conferred them upon France and Great Britain, which became the primary colonial powers in Africa. Germany's humiliation was aggravated when 23,400 of the 85,000 occupying French soldiers turned out to be black Africans. In reaction to this "Black Shame," the provisional German government protested that sub-Saharan African troops on German soil were an insult to the community spirit of the white race (Ndumbe 1983:239).

With the rise of the United States and the Soviet Union after World War I, Hitler recognized the economic and political significance of Africa. If Africa could be made into a vast southern colony, a German-controlled fascist Europe could reassert its power. Africa would be the future of Europe (Ndumbe 1983:242).

In 1935 the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, or Abyssinia – mythical land of the Queen of Sheba, sacred cradle of African civilization – rallied black solidarity. French-speaking Africans and West Indians in Paris collaborated to form temporary activist groups in support of Ethiopia. The authors of the anti-assimilationist newspaper *L'Étudiant noir*, including Aimé Césaire, Léopold Sédar Senghor, and Léon-Gontran Damas, protested the war with leftist students, and in 1936, they joined the Ethiopian Action Committee with representatives from international groups of color (Kesteloot 1974: 229). Césaire's identification with the Ethiopians is evident in his acceptance

7. Comte Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (1816-82), French diplomat and author of *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*.

of the title *ras* from a white student in his study group at the Ecole normale supérieure (Arnold 1981:11).

The Latin Quarter blacks sought a black cultural identity to challenge colonialism. The inflexible, oversimplified, and at the same time mythopoetic character of Frobenius's theories had precisely the myth-making potential to create an ideology for negritude (Ita 1973:314). Frobenius's influence appears as early as 1937 in Léopold Senghor's speech "The Cultural Problem in French West Africa" ("Le problème culturel en A.O.F.") presented at the Chamber of Commerce of Dakar (Steins 1981:987). Senghor writes of the importance of Frobenius to Césaire, Damas, and himself:

I still have before me, in my possession, the copy of *History of African Civilization* on the third page of which Césaire wrote: "décembre 1936 ... We knew by heart Chapter II of the first book of the *History*, entitled 'What Does Africa Mean to Us?', a chapter adorned with lapidary phrases such as this: 'The idea of the 'barbarous Negro' is a European invention, which in turn dominated Europe until the beginning of this century.'" (Senghor, quoted in Haberland 1973:vii)

Rejecting Hegel's widely accepted hypothesis that Africa had never produced a truly original and specifically African civilization, Frobenius discovered, through his analysis of prehistoric cave drawings, features linking African styles with those of Western Europe and Asia, and he sought to trace them back to a common origin. He considered these works of art as evidence of the *Païdeuma*, the creative force of human culture which controls human behavior, obeys its own laws, and manifests itself in different forms according to the date and location of its emergence (Frobenius 1936: 37). It surges forth from the most sacred subterranean levels – whether of individual human consciousness or of the collective unconscious is unclear – and is the source of all civilizations. While differences in artistic style are conditioned by differences in time and space, Frobenius ascertained a uniformity in the layers and styles of archeological tools in Europe, Africa, and Asia which proved to him that human civilization developed according to a harmonious plan and followed one major direction. For him, cultures passed through stages of childhood, adolescence, adulthood, decline, and death, just like the human beings through which they were expressed. He believed that the Ethiopians were the last global people in the "adolescent" stage of cultural creativity. The future of humanity therefore rested with them (Steins 1981:985).

The first writer to appropriate the theory outright and adapt it to the needs of the negritude movement was Suzanne Césaire, wife and collaborator of Aimé, in articles appearing in the journal *Tropiques* dated 1941 and 1942. In the Hamitic civilization, the human vital force was embodied in an

animal essence.<sup>8</sup> Suzanne Césaire therefore called the Hamite “animal man” (*l'homme animal*), as the animal was his symbol and he lived by raising or hunting animals. Originating in northern and eastern Africa, the Hamites had magical beliefs attesting to their self-affirmation and, in Friedrich Nietzsche's words, “will to power.” The human being was seen as subject, while the surrounding environment was objectified. The duality of their worldview called for the separation of the divine and the human, as of soul and body, and accordingly they used physical and magical forces to influence or dominate these two realms. Hamites were great warriors and believers in one all-powerful male God. Their will to dominate reflected a mechanistic, rational, and profane attitude toward the world. The qualities of honor and responsibility were valued for the preservation of the animals and other private property, but emotions were often repressed. Their temperament tended to be sober, but they were capable of fierce love, and were eager to combat and possess. Other Hamitic qualities were pride, boastfulness, and firmness of beliefs. The founders of the negritude movement naturally associated the psychologically and physically domineering colonizers with the Hamites (Steins 1981:919).

As for the mystical Ethiopians, the life force was expressed in the essence of the plant, the symbol of this agricultural people.<sup>9</sup> Suzanne Césaire (1941) called the Ethiopian “plant man” (*l'homme plante*), as his life perspective was natural communication with the cycle of death and rebirth as exemplified by the germination of the seed or by the rising of the phoenix. Working the earth, Ethiopians regulated their daily life by the rhythm of the seasons. Ancestor worship created a natural need to stay in contact with the dead. For them, the human and the divine were combined in a unified, global view. According to their usufructary conception, the earth belonged to their ancestors and was to be used but not owned or destroyed. Theirs was an emotional, irrational temperament given to self-abandonment in total participation in reality. The Ethiopian type, whom the negritude poets associated with the black race, was therefore the victim of an unjustified cultural oppression, since their more peaceful civilization was an equally valid manifestation of the Païdeuma (Steins 1981:952).

By demonstrating links between all human cultures, Frobenius strived to include African culture as an integral part of the universal whole. However, the negritude poets' enthusiasm for Frobenius's theories can be criticized, since the ethnologist evinced some of the colonialist assumptions and prejudices of his day, although he eventually rejected many of them (Ita

8. This corresponds with Sanders's (1969:530) assertion that the sub-Saharan Hamites were pastoralists.

9. Sanders (1969:130) also identifies the Negroid race with the occupation of agriculture.

1973:311-12). Frobenius assumed a conqueror's prerogative in plundering the treasures of ancient African civilizations. His very description of the sub-Saharan "Ethiopians" as agricultural reinforced the prejudice that they were peasants incapable of self-rule and unworthy of equality with the white race. But Frobenius did attack indirect rule of the Ethiopians, or black Africans living in leaderless societies, by the Hamites or "state-forming" peoples. He claimed that the Hamites had become weak and indolent through their reliance on slave labor, while the Ethiopians were industrious and energetic. In his argument, Frobenius tended to idealize the Ethiopians, who represented for him the German nation, and disparaged the Hamites whom he identified with the French, although he still believed that the Ethiopians needed colonial leadership (Ita 1972:674-75).

Frobenius's Hamitic category of African civilization actually corresponds to the Western European scientific outlook of the French and Anglo-Saxons: the "world of facts" of the rational mind. The Ethiopian civilization, by contrast, relates to that of the Germans: the "world of reality" which can only be understood mystically. These "Ethiopian" extrarational values are integral to the German romantic tradition, in which "reality" is the ultimate metaphysical state which underlies facts or manifests itself through them, while remaining distinct from them. "This 'reality' cannot be 'comprehended' or 'grasped' by the intellect but can be *experienced* in mystical self-abandonment to it" (Ita 1973:320). Thus in his *Kulturgeschichte Africas*, Frobenius attempted to reaffirm "German mysticism" against the more rational and materialistic French cultural and political domination of Germany since 1918, and dating back to Napoleonic times (Ita 1973:321-22).

Senghor identifies many "Ethiopian" qualities with his biologically-defined negritude: "emotion and intuitive reason, art and poetry, image and myth" (quoted in Arnold 1981:37). However, the assignation of specific endowments to races has racist implications unintended by Senghor. Using these same concepts, the scientists of Nazi Germany "proved" the superiority of the Aryan race as a pretext for victimizing the Jews. Césaire's negritude, by contrast, is based on history, which claims highly civilized African ancestors, and Frobenius's ethnology (Marteau 1961:135). For Frobenius, the Hamitic and Ethiopian classifications are "not absolute but relative" (Ita 1973:317).

The derivation of "negritude" from the Latin *niger*, "black," does limit its ethnic scope. Agblemagnon (quoted in Kesteloot 1974:318) states "This concept was necessary [for reaffirming black racial values] but it is confining." Similarly, Maryse Condé<sup>10</sup> believes that negritude ultimately failed because it excluded whites and mulattoes and by extension other ethnic groups.

10. Personal communication.

In the article "What Is Negritude to Me," Césaire (1995:16) writes "When I think of African independence in the 1960's, ... I think of negritude ..., since it played a role of catalyst." However, Condé claims that so many international Pan-African movements were involved, that African colonies would have achieved their independence even without negritude. Furthermore, Ita observes that the small-scale, anti-authoritarian, Ethiopian societies could not adapt to large-scale, modern nation-states after African independence. While the spiritual values of the Ethiopians could be helpful to an inferiorized race, they would be less relevant as technological development progressed in free African countries. Finally, Frobenius's tendency to assign Hamitic characteristics to Islamic states could exacerbate religious and ethnic strife in Africa (Ita 1973:329-35).

After World War I, the theoretical foundation of anthropology was revised. The historical and comparative methods were determined to be incapable of verification, and the search for origins was largely abandoned. Frobenius's Hamitic/Ethiopian dichotomy was dismissed by anthropologists, but its enthusiastic adoption by Senghor and Césaire has earned it a place in the history of African thought (Ita 1973:325).

In tracing the notion of the Païdeuma, I will use Keith Lewis Walker's interpretation of Césaire's symbolism which draws from Gaston Bachelard's work on psychology and poetics. The influence of the Païdeuma is clear in the earlier poems but has been attenuated in the abridged versions.

"Noon Knives" (*Couteaux-midi*) is one of Césaire's long, surrealist poems made more accessible by the deletion of many of the original surrealist associative metaphors (*métaphores filées*). The binary system established between the "positive" and "negative" forces – a characteristic Arnold, Songolo, and Gavronsky all associate with the best of Césaire's poems – has been left intact in the first long, narrative passage. Here the European whites and the Antillean blacks are opposed, but their conventional roles are reversed. The heavy editing occurs in the second and third stanzas of the poem, where the plant imagery and some references to the Catholic Church have been omitted. The elimination of most of the allusions to "plant man," as well as implications of the return to African sources, weakens the original death and rebirth orientation of the poem. These lost images are all Ethiopian manifestations of the Païdeuma.

As in most of Césaire's early poetry, the theme is the ascension of the black race. This poem specifically evokes the Haitian Revolution of 1804 in the first line: "When the Niggers make Revolution they begin by uprooting giant trees from the Champ de Mars which they hurl like bayings into the face of the sky." "Le Champ de Mars" is the public square in front of the palace in Port-au-Prince. The term *négritude* makes one of its first appearances in *Notebook of a Return to the Native Land* (in Césaire 1983) in a reference to "Haiti, where negritude rose for the first time and stated

that it believed in it humanity." However, in "Couteaux-midi," the Haitian Revolution is metaphorically extended to France since "Mars," the name of the Roman god of war and agriculture, also designates the terrain of the Ecole militaire in Paris.

The phallic tree,<sup>11</sup> to translate a phrase coined by Bernadette Cailler (1976:193), is Césaire's symbol of the black uprooted by the slave trader. In the poem it paradoxically refers to the European colonizers the blacks are uprooting in their turn. The "knives" in the title refer to the surrealist blade, which Walker (1979:113) identifies as a phallic symbol of hatred and cruelty. Noon, the moment when the masculine-gendered sun is at its apogee, relates to the verticality of the revolt. Cailler (1976:225) also notes the ambivalence of the expression "fire blanks" or "*tirer à blanc*" in French: are the insurrectionists shooting with blanks or are they shooting at the whites? The intentional ambiguity of the surrealist metaphor maintains both possibilities, while implying the vacuity of white European civilization. The line "blankness (or whiteness) is precisely the controversial color of the blackness which they carry in their hearts and which never ceases to conspire in the little too well made hexagons of their pores" again confounds white with black. The reference to the hexagonal shape of metropolitan France recalls the rigidity of cultural norms to which black children in the French colonial schools were forced to conform by the politics of assimilation. This passage clearly delineates the dividedness of the Antillean black raised in a world where "white" is associated with good and "black" with bad, as articulated by Franz Fanon (1952) in *Black Skin, White Masks* (*Peau noire, masques blancs*). However, Césaire uses the epithet "niggers" ironically in this first stanza, because the negritude project was to reverse values, and revalorize blackness as strong and dominant.

A flower image of the ladies-of-the-night establishes a system of metaphors that continues the black/white opposition and role reversal. The French *belle-de-nuit*, also called the "marvel of Peru," blossoms only in the evening and is thus associated with the pole of blackness. In popular French, the night-blooming *belle-de-nuit* has come to mean "prostitute." While not specified in the poem, the *belle-de-jour*, or morning glory, which blooms during the day and closes at night, relates to the pole of whiteness. In the next line of the verse "[t]he white shots then plant ladies-of-the-night in the sky which are not unrelated to the coifs of Saint Joseph de Cluny nuns laundered under the bread and wine of noon amidst the solar jubilation of tropical soap." The black revolutionaries' blank shots are therefore turning into blossoms in the sky. These relate to the sun and also the stars evoked in the last line of the poem. But they also insinuate that the revolutionaries are shooting upon the Catholic nuns who launder and starch their coifs under the

11. This is a translation of Cailler's *arbre-phallus*.

sun. A thematic anti-Catholicism in *Soleil cou-coupé* relates to the Church's support of Admiral Robert during the Vichy occupation of the French Antilles and the postwar return to colonial domination (Arnold 1981:207-8). By linking the pejorative *belles-de-nuit* with the religious coifs of the sisters of Cluny,<sup>12</sup> the poet is mocking the innocence and purity of the Catholic Church. This reference to the influential Benedictine order of Cluny also recalls the colonial imperialism Christopher Columbus practiced in the name of the Christian religion.

However, a reverse capitulation of Western civilization to the black race is implied in the terms *jubilation solaire*, which relates to the triumphant noon revolution, and the *savon tropical*, associated with the cleansing of European corruption. Therefore, the blossoming of the *belles-de-nuit* in the sky heralds future black supremacy while "the pure currents of fresh birds" recalls the Ethiopian symbol of the phoenix. The "too complacent cotton wool" refers here to the complacency of the white Christians which stifles the words and cries of the poet. With his "tongue between [his] pepper fangs" Césaire denounces the decline of Catholicism in the words "hatred," "ruins," "curse," "cathedral limits," and "idleness." It will be the Church's turn to repent when the revolution, symbolized by "Noon," breaks open the "strongboxes of severe time" of the final lines of the stanza. Dreaming of this "sumptuous Noon" revolt transports the poet in dreams of the new world order.

The entire following stanza, which includes five plant images, was suppressed in the 1961 version. The first verse foretells the fall of French imperialism: "Oh tyrannical and beaming at the feet of stormy spume and of wind and your flag of tatters flapping for the wasted hours for the abandoned games for the present crows for the future serpents." The "stormy spume" and "wind" are forces of nature dear to the Ethiopian manifestation of the Païdeuma. They represent terrestrial and meteorological cataclysms so common to the Caribbean with their potential for human destruction and renewal. Such forces will usher in a new era where "you," the tyrannical and beaming French colonizer, will be overcome and his flag of imperialism fallen and torn. In contrast with "the fresh birds" of the first stanza, "the crows," birds of death, represent a more destructive black power. Walker (1979:109) calls the serpent the embodiment of the energy of the flame and associates it with vines, roots, and plants. In oriental tradition the serpent was considered the guardian of the sources of life.

The venomous will of the serpent expresses itself in the poet's "mandrake's mouth" and in his "deadly spittle." A poisonous plant causing

12. L'Institution Saint-Joseph-de-Cluny, a Catholic female secondary school in Saint-Louis, Senegal, was familiar to Césaire's friend Léopold Senghor, perhaps as the sister school to his own (Vaillant 1990:11).

vomiting or narcotic effects, the mandrake was formerly used in witchcraft. According to legend, the mandrake stands for vegetative fertility, since it generates from the spilled semen of a hanged man (Arnold 1981:210). Its forked root resembles human form, and the plant is also associated with a devil appearing as a small black man. When uprooted, the mandrake is said to emit shrieks or cries. Césaire as the uprooted black identifies with this "plant man" in a unison cry since the day of his birth. His early poetry itself symbolizes the black protest, as the violence of the legend of the mandrake relates to the violence of black history. The plant's purported ability to promote conception connects with the death/rebirth cycle of the Ethiopian world view.

In the poem, the mandrake's poison overpowers that of "the white hellebore," a nontropical plant representing the Europeans. Interestingly, the black species of this poisonous plant was believed to be more abundant than the white or green. The rise of the black race is again suggested.

On the other hand the "dandelion" and the "thistle," which are found in uncultivated fields and humid places, represent the humble Antillean or African people. Like the dandelion, these "plant men" carry seeds that will be spread far in the new era. "The thistle that only accomplishes the fruit of its copulation between the heaven and the earth" recalls the Dogon creation myth whose significance in Césaire's poetry was revealed by M. a M. Ngai (1975:149). Frobenius discusses the depiction of this myth in African art, in which the starry sky represents woman and the earth, man on whose body the plants germinate. In the context of the poem the myth foretells the renaissance of the Ethiopian creative force in an era of pansexual fertility.

The repeated invocation *filao*, the name of an African tree; produces an intentional Africanization of the French. This tree according to Maryse Condé is found in African cemeteries, and may be associated with trees that African-Americans planted on graves to signify the spirit. Their roots were believed to "literally journey to the other world" (Thompson 1983: 138), just as deities were believed to ascend or descend the tree-like pole in the center of central and West African dancing areas (Thompson 1983:181). The *filao* can therefore be interpreted as an invocation of Ethiopian animism and spirituality that contrasts with the absent Catholic divinity *santa maria*. The use of the Spanish name of the Virgin Mary also recalls Columbus's ship the *Santa Maria*. The poet spits his poison first into the face of Saint Mary, later into the faces of the colonizers. In the edited version, Césaire has deleted both the African word and the Catholic saint and has substituted "Sweet Lord," which is ironic and "Savage Lord," which refers to the God of the conquerors. After the suppression of the entire second stanza, calling



upon the Christian God serves to tie the revolutionary introductory verse to the hopeful aftermath of the end of the poem.

In the verse "I spit into the face of the starvers, into the face of the revilers, into the face of the paraschites<sup>13</sup> and of the eviscerators" the poet turns his invective upon the plantation owners for their unjust or violent treatment of their slaves. The denunciation is weakened, however, without the images of venom and poison of the earlier text – lines which might also allude to the slaves' using their familiarity with native plants to poison their master's food. Arnold has suggested in other instances that Césaire suppressed verses due to their obscure or blasphemous terminology. Once decoded in context, however, these lines enriched the meaning of the original poem. The spitting of his venom into the faces of his enemies is the catharsis analogous to the Nigger rebellion.

In the last line of the long narrative introduction, the poet had left the real world through his imagined revolt. The new version, with the two references to the Christian god, adds the line "sweetly I whistle; I whistle sweetly" to invoke the new world, whose tranquility is reinforced by the anaphoric "sweet": "sweet like the dwarf elder." Of the eight original plant images, only the ladies-of-the-night of the first stanza, the dwarf elder, and the manchineel remain. The elder or elderberry is a vine or shrub of the honeysuckle family, often bearing flowers or berries. In contrast with the poisonous mandrake or hellebore, the North American elderberry can be used ornamentally or consumed in preserves, pies, or wines. The manchineel mentioned a few lines later, however, is an Antillean tree whose fruit and sap are so poisonous that its shadow alone is said to induce a mortal slumber in passersby. Like the mandrake, it is used in sorcery. Legend relates that by divine order the manchineel can only grow by the edge of the water, since sea water is an antidote to its venom. The manchineel in this postclimactic context does not seem menacing: "sweet like the greeting of the tiny waves caught in their petticoats in the chambers of the manchineel" implies that the manchineel is an old "phallic tree" seducing the feminine waves rather than poisoning them. Black sexuality is also invoked in the deleted verse "sweet like the fragrance of a red fabric on the heavy breathing of black skin." "Red" is the color of life, and "fragrance," "fabric," "heavy breathing," and "black skin" evoke black lovers reposing after their climax. While Césaire is again heralding a renaissance for the black race, the decision to omit this stereotype of black hypersexuality was a good one.

13. "Paraschites: in ancient Egypt a class of embalmers whose task, while preparing the mummy, was to make a lateral cut with a silex knife into the cadaver in order to extract the viscera" (Eshleman & Smith 1983:405). Of course, the word also brings to mind "parasites."

The four bird images are retained in the final version and are associated with "sweet:" "the cloak of bird feathers," "the river of mandibles," "the eyelid of a parrot," and "hummingbirds ... rocketing." They also suggest the phoenix, which signifies a peak of ardor as well as dissolution, death, and rebirth (Walker 1979:99). "[A] rain of ash empearled with tiny fires" indicates that glimmers of hope are alive in the ashes. The following line is reminiscent of *Notebook of a Return to the Native Land*: "upright in my wounds where against the shafts of shipwreck my blood beats the cadavers of croaked dogs out of which hummingbirds are rocketing, this is the day." The black man is standing erect after the shipwreck of the slave ship that wrenched him from his homeland and left his native culture in shambles. Covered with wounds, he is still triumphant over "the dead dogs" of the colonizers. As the poet envisions a future day when all races will live in brotherhood and without shame, the final verses open to a cosmic perspective. Using the debris of crumbled civilizations, the sorcerers – beneficent as often as malevolent in African society – will fashion stars symbolic of other suns, a new order admitting the ascension of blacks.

Twenty-one years after the publication of *Cadastre*, Césaire's final volume of poetry, *I, Laminaria (moi, laminaire)* appeared in 1982. In these poems the heroic persona of negritude, which had been symbolized by vertical plants and trees in his early poetry, has been reduced to a modest piece of seaweed, clinging to a rock. Arnold (1990) interprets the poet's humbler sense of self as a loss of faith in his early Marxist beliefs as well as a loss of faith in negritude. Serge Gavronsky (1982:276), who has studied Césaire's political speeches from his years in the National Assembly, writes that "a strong element of defeatism" lurked in them from the very beginning, that is, 1945 when he was first elected mayor of the Martiniquan capital of Fort-de-France and deputy in the Constituent Assembly in Paris. The special interests advanced by negritude still dominate his view of political and social affairs in Martinique and the French Caribbean (Arnold 1981:281).<sup>14</sup> However, although the Païdeuma's prediction of the inevitable supremacy of the black race appears in *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* and continues to be promoted in *Soleil cou-coupé*, the vigorous, erect, creative "plant man" is less likely to be found in *Cadastre*. Of eight plant images in the 1948 version of "Noon Knives," only three survive in the 1961 version, while all four bird images have been retained. Perhaps discouragement with the poet's

14. Some Martiniquan intellectuals do not believe that Césaire betrayed his intellectual-poetic vision in his practical politics, or that he failed his people by not leading them to independence, as negritude would have suggested. They think that this view is simplistic and that it denies Césaire any real agency, when in fact he is still self-aware and active today.

mission to change society also prompted the excision of the stanza in which the poet spits his venom into the faces of his enemies. Césaire's feeling of political failure may have swayed him to reject the vibrant "plant man" as the black prototype. The relinquishing of plant imagery<sup>15</sup> and specific racial or ethnic allusions would have prepared him for a more conciliatory attitude toward France. Having lost his faith in negritude as a movement of black liberation, as well as his faith in Marxism, Césaire seems to have edited the poems of 1948 to render them less revolutionary and more in keeping with his moderate, albeit ambivalent, political stance.

NOON KNIVES  
(*COUTEAUX-MIDI*, 1948 *SOLEIL COU-COUPÉ* VERSION)

Translated by Clayton Eshleman and Annette Smith

Italicized verses, which were omitted from the *Cadaster* version, translated by Janice Horner Kaufman

When the Niggers make Revolution they begin by uprooting giant trees from the Champ de Mars which they hurl like bayings into the face of the sky and which in the hottest of the air aim at pure streams of cool birds at which they fire blanks. Fire blanks? Yes indeed because blankness (or whiteness) is precisely the controversial color of the blackness which they carry in their hearts and which never ceases to conspire in the little too well made hexagons of their pores. The white shots then plant ladies-of-the-night in the sky which are not unrelated to the coifs of Saint Joseph de Cluny nuns laundered under the bread and wine of noon amidst the solar jubilation of tropical soap.

Noon? Yes, Noon dispersing in the sky the too complacent cotton wool which muffles my words, which traps my screams. Noon? Yes Noon almond of the night and tongue between my pepper fangs. Noon? Yes Noon which carries on its shoulders a bum and a glazier all the sensitivity toward hatred and ruins that counts. Noon? Sure Noon which after pausing on my lips for the time it takes to curse and at the cathedral limits of idleness sets on every line of every hand the trains that repentance kept in reserve in the strongboxes of severe time. Noon? Yes sumptuous Noon which makes me absent from this world.

15. Some plant imagery is still to be found in the 1963 and 1970 editions of *La Tragédie du roi Christophe*. Instead of referring to the black race in general, however, it alludes to the Antillean potential for restoring the creative *force vitale* of Negro-African civilization, as well as to Christophe as a representative of these values. The Antillean people that Christophe leads are also often associated with animal imagery, not in the dominant Hamitic sense, but as bestial and oppressed. As in *Cadaster*, bird or phoenix imagery eclipses plant and animal imagery in representing transcendence. The somewhat different functioning of the original Païdeuma symbolism can be related to the evolution of Césaire's Antillean conception of negritude, as distinct from Senghor's.

*Oh tyrannical and beaming at the feet of stormy spume and of wind and  
your flag of tatters flapping for the wasted hours for the abandoned games  
for the present crows for the future serpents*

*filao filao*

*of course I have a mandrake's mouth*

*his name replies to mine*

*his cry is mine when I was pulled from my mother's phosphorescent  
womb*

*of course my spittle is mortal to some*

*more and better than the white hellebore*

*of course I have more contempt than a dandelion seed*

*and more modesty than the wild thistle that only accomplishes the fruit of  
its copulation between the heaven and the earth*

*But filao filao why filao*

*in any case in your name filao I spit into your face santa maria*

*filao*

*filao*

*in any case I spit into the face of the starvers, into the face of the revilers,  
into the face of the paraschites and of the eviscerators.*

*filao*

*filao*

*My world is sweet*

*sweet like the dwarf elder*

*sweet like the glass of catastrophe*

*sweet like the fragrance of a red fabric on the heavy breathing of black  
skin*

*sweet like the cloak of bird feathers which vengeance dons after the  
crime*

*sweet like the sure and maligned gait of the blind man*

*sweet like the greeting of tiny waves caught in their petticoats in the  
chambers of the manchineel*

*sweet like a river of mandibles and the eyelid of a parrot*

*sweet like a rain of ash empearled with tiny fires*

*filao*

*filao*

*upright in my wounds where against the shafts of shipwreck my blood  
beats the cadavers of croaked dogs out of which hummingbirds are  
rocketing, this is the day*

*I stick to my pact*

*a day for our fraternal feet*

*a day for our hands without rancor*

*a day for our breath without diffidence*

*a day for our faces free of shame*

*and the Niggers go searching in the dust – gems singing in their ears at  
the top of their voices – for the splinters from which mica is made as well  
as moons and the fissile slate out of which sorcerers make the intimate  
ferocity of the stars*

NOON KNIVES (*COUTEAUX-MIDI*, 1961 *CADASTER* VERSION)

Translated by Clayton Eshleman and Annette Smith

Verses in bold were added to the new version of the poem

When the Niggers make Revolution they begin by uprooting giant trees from the Champ de Mars which they hurl like bayings into the face of the sky and which in the hottest of the air aim at pure streams of cool birds at which they fire blanks. Fire blanks? Yes indeed because blankness (or whiteness) is precisely the controversial color of the blackness which they carry in their hearts and which never ceases to conspire in the little too well made hexagons of their pores. The white shots then plant ladies-of-the-night in the sky which are not unrelated to the coifs of Saint Joseph de Cluny nuns laundered under the bread and wine of noon amidst the solar jubilation of tropical soap.

Noon? Yes, Noon dispersing in the sky the too complacent cotton wool which muffles my words, which traps my screams. Noon? Yes Noon almond of the night and tongue between my pepper fangs. Noon? Yes Noon which carries on its shoulders a bum and a glazier all the sensitivity toward hatred and ruins that counts. Noon? sure Noon which after pausing on my lips for the time it takes to curse and at the cathedral limits of idleness sets on every line of every hand the trains that repentance kept in reserve in the strongboxes of severe time. Noon? Yes sumptuous Noon which makes me absent from this world.

**Sweet Lord!**

**savagely** I spit. Into the face of the starvers, into the face of the revilers, into the face of the paraschites and of the eviscerators.

**Savage Lord! sweetly I whistle; I whistle sweetly**

Sweet like the dwarf elder

sweet like the glass of catastrophe

sweet like the cloak of bird feathers which vengeance dons after the crime

sweet like the greeting of tiny waves caught in their petticoats in the chambers of the manchineel

sweet like a river of mandibles and the eyelid of a parrot

sweet like a rain of ash empearled with tiny fires

**Oh! I stick to my pact<sup>16</sup>**

upright in my wounds where against the shafts of shipwreck my blood beats the cadavers of croaked dogs out of which hummingbirds are rocketing, this is the day

a day for our fraternal feet

a day for our hands without rancor

a day for our breath without diffidence

a day for our faces free of shame

and the Niggers go searching in the dust – gems singing in their ears at the top of their voices – for the splinters from which mica is made as well as moons and the fissile slate out of which sorcerers make the intimate ferocity of the stars

16. This verse is in different order from the 1948 version.

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AISHA KHAN

AMERICAN RELIGION:  
DIASPORA AND SYNCRETISM FROM OLD  
WORLD TO NEW

*Nation Dance: Religion, Identity, and Cultural Difference in the Caribbean.* PATRICK TAYLOR (ed.). Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001. x + 220 pp. (Paper US\$ 19.95)

*Translating Kali's Feast: The Goddess in Indo-Caribbean Ritual and Fiction.* STEPHANOS STEPHANIDES with KARNA SINGH. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000. xii + 200 pp. (Paper US\$ 19.00)

*Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America.* ANDRÉ CORTEN & RUTH MARSHALL-FRATANI (eds.). Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001. 270 pp. (Paper US\$ 22.95)

*Encyclopedia of African and African-American Religions.* STEPHEN D. GLAZIER (ed.). New York: Routledge, 2001. xx + 452 pp. (Cloth US\$ 125.00)

As paradigms and perspectives change within and across academic disciplines, certain motifs remain at the crux of our inquiries. Evident in these four new works on African and New World African and South Asian religions are two motifs that have long defined the Caribbean: the relationship between cultural transformation and cultural continuity, and that between cultural diversity and cultural commonality. In approaching religion from such revisionist sites as poststructuralism, diaspora, hybridity, and creolization, however, the works reviewed here attempt to move toward new and more productive ways of thinking about cultures and histories in the Americas. In the process, other questions arise. Particularly, can what are

essentially redirected language and methodologies in the spirit of postmodern interventions tell us more about local interpretation, experience, and agency among Caribbean, African American, and African peoples than can more traditional approaches? While it is up to individual readers to decide this for themselves, my own feeling is that it is altogether a good thing that these works still echo long-standing conundrums: the Herskovits/Frazier debate over cultural origins, the tensions of assimilation in "plural societies," and the significance of religion in everyday life. Perhaps one of the most important lessons that research in the Caribbean has for broader arenas of scholarship is that foundational questions are tenacious even in the face of paradigm shifts, yet can always generate new modes of inquiry, defying intellectual closure and neat resolution.

The "Nation Dance," as editor Patrick Taylor explains in his volume of the same name, is literally an Eastern Caribbean ceremony where people pay their respects to their ancestors, valorizing knowledge of the past to sustain them in the present and future. Similar ceremonies are found throughout the Caribbean region, but in titling his volume *Nation Dance*, Taylor is more interested in the dance as a metaphor for religious experience there where distinct traditions are celebrated in concert and where dancing the nation "is to find oneself immersed in a liminal world where tradition informs contemporary experience and ritual takes on new meaning" (p. 1). Hence the essays in this volume take up the question of what implications religious traditions have for Caribbean modernity. Rather than thinking of Caribbean religions in terms of "syncretism" or "creolization," which connote the homogenization of difference, a more apt term is "symbiosis," since it preserves "the dance of difference" (p. 3) that characterizes the region. Slightly reminiscent of the plural society model, in the metaphoric Nation Dance "the dispersed nations dance their separate dances in the same yard" (p. 11). But the idea here is to honor the local diversity that remains within national, regional, and global assimilation, and to promote scholarship that is "dialogical and polyphonic," not "omniscient" and putatively "objective" (p. 6). The premise of the volume as a whole is that scholarship and religious belief are compatible, and together can produce works that are a "reconciliation" of the two (p. 8).

The volume covers the region's major geographical and linguistic areas. The chapters are organized in three sections: "Spirituality, Healing, and the Divine," "Social and Political Contexts of Theology," and "Reflections on Religion, Identity, and Diaspora." In the first, authors focus on the experience of religious practice and the connections between belief, sentiment, and voice, particularly with attention to women's experiences. Employing, for example, such concepts as "intersemiotics" to understand Obeah and Kali in Guyana (Frederick Ivor Case), "rememory" in Caribbean constructions of the Divine (Althea Prince), and feminist interventions in colonial representations

of Afro-Cuban religions (Maria Margarita Castro Flores), five chapters query the epistemological foundations (androcentric, colonial, emic/etic) upon which our understanding of the Caribbean is based. In the second cluster of chapters the discussion becomes historical, looking at the role of biblical theologies in Caribbean religions. Considered are Rastafari "reasoning" and its relationship to the Kebra Nagast (Patrick Taylor), the indigenization of Catholicism and Protestantism in the Caribbean (Arthur Dayfoot; Juanita De Barros), gender and fundamentalism in Barbados (Judith Soares), and the relationship among liberation theology, Protestantism, and Vodou in transforming the Haitian state (Laënnec Hurbon).

The third section highlights two themes that are implicit in all the essays: diaspora and identity. Religion constitutes the most basic source of Caribbean identity, and diaspora functions as a religious trope wherein religious identities have been fluidly made and remade. Thus Barry Chevannes explores the Jamaican yard as a metaphor of home; Abraham H. Khan examines the relationship between identity and personhood in Caribbean Hinduism and Islam; Frank Scherer explores Cuban state policy with reference to Chinese diasporic religious expression there; and Sean Lokaisingh-Meighoo, focusing on the Indo-Caribbean, argues for considering diaspora in terms of style rather than in terms of identity.

In *Translating Kali's Feast*, Stephanos Stephanides and Karna Singh, also approaching diaspora as religious trope, aim to "trace Mother Kali's footsteps as they are marked in the consciousness and memory of her children in Guyana" (p. 10). A creative combination of literary and ethnographic techniques, the book is an interdisciplinary study of the goddess Kali and the spiritual and cultural role of her ritual feast, the Kali puja, in Hindu Guyanese life and culture. Because the root of Kali's feast involves "the struggle to evoke involuntary memory" (p. 9), the ritual cultivates a counterhegemonic consciousness "through the unconscious, mimetic and imaginative play of the feast" (p. 10).

Stephanides and Singh explicitly wish to resist any "sociologism" that would foreground economic and political life at the expense of religious and aesthetic aspects (p. 167). To this end they explore the fiction of such writers as V.S. Naipaul, R.K. Narayan, and Wilson Harris, and integrate oral histories from Kali devotees, in addition to some ethnographic description and their own reflections. They bring together these apparently disparate sources within the theoretical approach of translation studies. Guided by the work of Walter Benjamin and Talal Asad on the problem of cultural and linguistic translation, they attempt to translate the Kali puja into other genres that will reveal the rich pervasiveness of Kali as a cultural idiom. Because their "discursive course was not intended simply to imitate or represent the viewpoint of Kali devotees, but to re-create a rhetoric that would also participate in the culture's gradual abrogation and appropriation

of competing cultures or epistemes" (p. 168), it may not come as a surprise that ethnographic revelations are not the most intriguing aspect of this book. Pursuing methodologies of cultural translation, however, is an interesting project, especially in the spirit of problematizing representation, voice, and subjectivity. Stephanides and Singh assert that these concerns have special relevance in the Caribbean because the region's "'distinctive' races and their 'ethnic' cultures" (p. 181) create a hybridity that is particularly fertile ground for translation studies. Such peoples – apparently in contrast to other peoples – have long been "living 'in translation'" (p. 182).

As is sometimes the case with ambitious works, this book tells us more about the current state of interdisciplinary, experimental humanities and social science research than about certain local knowledge (which, in any case, is not its principal aim). While greatest benefit will likely go to readers who already possess some familiarity with the South Asian diaspora, Hinduism, and Caribbean history, anyone interested in Kali worship or in "Madrasi" religion (as it is sometimes called, e.g., p. 10) and its diverse manifestations in the New World will certainly want to take a look at this book.

André Corten and Ruth Marshall-Fratani, who are explicitly interested in local knowledge, tell us that over the past twenty years, Pentecostal movements have burgeoned in Latin America and Africa. Their *Between Babel and Pentecost* is a collection of essays that inquires into the bricolage of diverse elements that constitute Pentecostalism and the new *imaginaire* that its vision of modernity offers to followers who live within contemporary forces of transnationalism (p. 1). Indeed, because, as they see it (p. 1), Pentecostalism contains a dialectic of difference and uniformity that is also central to globalization (as well as to such issues in the study of religion as orthodoxy/heterodoxy, resistance/accommodation, and syncretism), they pose an interesting question. How are local processes of identification with Pentecostalism, which suggest fixed boundaries and community consolidation, shaped within global processes that are characterized by open-ended, transitory, and unbound flows of people, objects, and ideas? The volume's title, then, recalls the rampant diversity associated with the tower of Babel and the Pentecost's emphasis on collective coherence.

The contributors are concerned with discovering "the plural nature" of the common, definitive forms of Pentecostalism (for example, being born-again) that, in tandem, form a "patchwork" of hybridity which renders Pentecostalism compatibly transnational (p. 11). The volume seeks to echo this hybridity by offering cross-cultural case studies undertaken by authors from several disciplines. It is divided into three parts: "General," "The Caribbean and Latin America," and "Africa." In the first are five chapters, largely theoretical and historical: Waldo César on the rise of Pentecostalism through a "Social-Historical-Theological Study," André Droogers and Ruth Marshall-Fratani on Pentecostalism and globalization and local-global con-

nections, respectively, Paul Gifford on African Pentecostal Theology, and André Corten on politics and "transnationalized" religious needs in Latin America. Section II, on the New World, contains case studies of Pentecostal movements in a range of countries: Jamaica (Diane Austin-Brooks), Costa Rica (Jean-Pierre Bastien), Brazil (Ari Pedro Oro and Pablo Seman; Paul Freston), and Haiti in relation to the Caribbean region (Laënnec Hurbon). More case studies follow in the final section on Africa, covering Ghana (Rijk van Dijk), Malawi (Harri Englund), Burkina Faso (Pierre Joseph Laurent), Benin (Cedric Mayrargue), and Brazzaville (Elisabeth Dorier-Apprill).

The editors make the fascinating observation that Pentecostalism in Latin America is still largely a religion embraced by the poor, even as the middle class has recently begun to increase its membership, and in Africa it is an urban phenomenon drawing followers from educated and self-ascribed cosmopolitan sectors of the population. Even in African rural areas Pentecostalism is viewed as an avenue for upward mobility. The editors do not pursue an examination of why these class and regional contrasts might exist, nor is there an overview chapter offering one. Perhaps this is because, as the volume suggests in various ways, the new form of popular transnational culture that Pentecostal movements represent discourages generalization by virtue of the "extreme diversity" of its social composition (p. 20).

With its attention to the details of each case it presents, the evenness of the quality of its chapters, and its careful attempt to grapple in a consistent fashion with current interests in the relationship between local forms and global processes, this volume is a timely and valuable addition to the literature on religious movements, postcolonial Christianity, and the articulation of religious experience with other domains of social life.

In his *Encyclopedia of African and African-American Religions*, editor Stephen Glazier and his contributors combine the best of an encyclopedia format with careful deliberation on what an encyclopedia is capable of offering in content. This volume is a compendium of a wide range of individual entries, yet in sum enables some reconsideration of questions fundamental in the Americas: the influence of the colonial gaze on interpretations of African and African-American religions, the inextricable connection that religion has with other quotidian social and cultural institutions, and debates about African retentions in the New World. Thirty articles specifically address the use of concepts and theories in the study of African and African-American religions. In doing so, they, along with many of the other contributions, raise such related matters as nationalism, Pan-Africanism, immigration, civil rights, proselytization, and conversion. In this way the *Encyclopedia*, like the three other books discussed here, conveys a good deal more about the contours of the pan-African experience than a conventional conception of "religion," disarticulated from historical, social, and cultural contexts, would be able to do.

In total, the *Encyclopedia* contains one hundred and forty-five articles, written by scholars from thirteen countries in the humanities and social sciences. A sampling of entries includes: "African Zoar United Methodist Church" (started in 1794 outside Philadelphia), "African-derived" religions in the Lesser Antilles," "Kardecism" (where mediums intermediate with the spirit world, originating in nineteenth-century France, later becoming important in Brazil and the Hispanophone Caribbean), "Storefront Churches," and "Sudanese Brotherhoods" (Islamic spiritual organizations in Sudan).

Incorporated in the discussions are selections from primary source materials, ethnographic descriptions, and a wonderful range of photographs and illustrations. This variety, along with coverage that ranges from the most well-known examples (such as Yoruba and Akan religions, Islam, Pentecostalism, Rastafari, Vodou, and Umbanda) to lesser known ones (such as Big Drum, Myalism, Mother Earth, Kumina, and Costa Chica), underscores (as the editor intended) the important point that the global influence of African and African-American religions is growing. This volume is invaluable as a teaching and research reference. In addition to its breadth and creativity of approach, bibliographies accompany each entry, there is a general bibliography and index, and an appendix makes available a list of major contemporary and classic works on African and African-American religions. The *Encyclopedia* is also just simply a very good read.

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RICHARD PRICE & SALLY PRICE

TI PONCH: OR, BOOKSHELF 2002

Widespread misinformation about the Caribbean, allowed to circulate because so many people in the United States and Europe continue to view the region largely as a place of “sea, sun, and sex,” seems to be of little concern to journalists and other casual writers. Some time ago, we were moved to write a letter to the editors of the *New York Times* in an attempt to correct a blithe report published in the paper’s Travel section. An article entitled “Island Report: Looking Past the Storms” (Frances Frank Marcus, November 26, 1995) had recommended that visitors to Martinique “try the petit punch, a concoction of white wine and brown sugar.” Our letter said:

This is something like describing a dry martini as a concoction of tequila and apple cider. For the record, the national drink of Martinique consists of white rum and raw sugar, with or without a zest of lime. The raw sugar may be substituted by a Caribbean plum in syrup, by cane syrup, by honey, or by molasses – “brown sugar” is not available in Martinique, white wine is rarely drunk by Martiniquans, and no alcohol but rum is imaginable in a “ti ponch.”

The *Times* declined to print the letter. So much for accountability when it comes to reporting on the “Pleasure Islands.”

We are pleased to announce that the annual Caribbeanist Hall of Shame includes only four names this year. As always, we are deeply grateful to those scholars who have taken the time to provide reviews for *NWIG*, allowing the journal to continue to be the premier site for reviews of Caribbean scholarship. It is, however, our sad duty to list here those works that, as of press time (February 2003), have not been discussed in the journal because the scholars who agreed to review them have – despite reminder letters – neither provided a text nor relinquished the books so that we could assign them to someone else. As has become our custom, we indicate slack reviewers’ names with both initial and final letters, in an attempt to forestall

false accusations and protect the reputations of the innocent. And as in past years, we hope this may serve as a kind of backlist "books received."

- *African America and Haiti: Emigration and Black Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century*, by Chris Dixon (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2000, 264 pp., cloth US\$ 65.00) (J\_n P\_s);
- *Cuba's Foreign Relations in a Post-Soviet World*, by H. Michael Erisman (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000, xiii + 270 pp., cloth US\$ 49.95) (A\_s S\_n);
- *Learning to be a Man: Culture, Socialization and Gender Identity in Five Caribbean Communities*, by Barry Chevannes (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2001, xi + 240 pp., paper US\$ 25.00) (T\_r P\_l);
- *"The Tempest" and Its Travels*, edited by Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000, xiv + 319 pp., paper US\$ 26.50) (D\_l C\_y)

We can't be sure, but we do have the impression that fewer and fewer academics are taking the time to write book reviews (or even to answer requests to review a book). The following pages include a large number of books for which we were unable, after several tries, to find a reviewer, as well as a smaller number of titles we decided did not merit full review. We present them promiscuously, grouped in very rough categories, with occasional comments, in this year-end wrap-up.

It is our custom to begin with works of literature (which are not normally given full reviews in this journal) and literary criticism. *Ancestors* (New York: New Directions, 2001, paper US\$ 35.00) is Kamau Brathwaite's radical recasting of his landmark trilogy, "Mother Poem," "Sun Poem," and "X/Self," in the form of "video sycorax," designed for the "intercovery" of the poet's African/Caribbean heritage. In *Mr. Potter* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002, cloth US\$ 20.00), Jamaica Kincaid returns to Antigua to lay bare the life of an illiterate chauffeur, the narrator's father, deploying her inimitable, magical, and mordant poetics. Derek Walcott gathers two plays on North American themes in *Walker and The Ghost Dance* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002, paper US\$ 17.00), the first (dedicated to the memory of Romare Bearden) about resistance to slavery, and the second (modeled on a John Ford film) about the destruction of the Plains Indians.

*Talk Yuh Talk: Interviews with Anglophone Caribbean Poets*, edited by Kwame Dawes (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001, paper US\$ 17.50), presents lively, revealing interviews with nineteen leading poets. *Warner Arundell, The Adventures of a Creole*, by E.L. Joseph, edited by Lise Winer, with annotations and an introduction by Bridget Brereton, Rhonda Cobham, Mary Rimmer, and Lise Winer (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2001, paper US\$ 40.00), is a swashbuckling, very readable



work, likely the first Caribbean novel published in English (1838); this welcome reprint inaugurates what promises to be an extremely useful series of little-known (mainly nineteenth-century) West Indian novels, the first four of which, like *Warner*, focus on Trinidad. *Juanita: A Romance of Real Life in Cuba Fifty Years Ago*, edited by Patricia M. Ard (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000, paper US\$ 18.50), reprints an 1887 novel written by Mary Peabody Mann, a New England woman who lived on a Cuban slave plantation in the 1830s. And Sidney W. Mintz has translated César Andreu Iglesias's novel about 1950s Puerto Rican nationalism, *Los derrotados*, as *The Vanquished* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002, paper US\$ 19.95), with an afterword by Arcadio Díaz-Quinones.

*Open Gate: An Anthology of Haitian Creole Poetry*, edited by Paul Laraque and Jack Hirschman (Willimantic CT: Curbstone Press, 2001, paper US\$ 15.95), is the first bilingual Creole/English (facing page) collection of Haitian poetry, featuring a wide variety of works from the twentieth century. *Maroon: A Selection of Poems*, by Danielle Legros Georges (Willimantic CT: Curbstone Press, 2001, paper US\$ 12.95), presents the spare, powerful work of this Haitian-born, Boston-dwelling artist. Max Dorsinville's *The Rule of François "Papa Doc" Duvalier in Two Novels by Roger Dorsinville: Realism and Magic Realism in Haiti* (Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellon Press, 2000, cloth US\$ 99.95) is a translation of two novels, with commentaries.

Three Dutch-language literary works have come our way: *Liefdesgeuren*, by Rita Rahman (Haarlem, Netherlands: In de Knipscheer, 2001, paper € 14.75), is fiction by an Aruban-born author who grew up in Suriname, set against a background of decolonization. *Retro*, by John Leefmans (Haarlem, Netherlands: In de Knipscheer, 2001, paper n.p.), is the second collection of poetry by this Suriname-born author living in the Netherlands. And *Zebrahoeven*, by Antoine de Kom (Amsterdam: Querido, 2001, paper € 15.75), is a collection of poems replete with allusions to Suriname.

As for literary criticism, *Theatre of the Arts: Wilson Harris and the Caribbean*, edited by Hena Maes-Jelinek and Bénédicte Ledent (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002, paper US\$ 30.00), is a rich, varied homage to Harris on his eightieth birthday. *Colonialism and Cultural Identity: Crises of Tradition in the Anglophone Literatures of India, Africa, and the Caribbean*, by Patrick Colm Hogan (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000, paper US\$ 20.95), includes chapters on Walcott, Rhys, and Lovelace. *Postslavery Literatures in the Americas: Family Portraits in Black and White*, by George B. Handley (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000, cloth US\$ 57.50, paper US\$ 18.50), consists of lit-crit readings of writers from Cirilo Villaverde to Jean Rhys and Toni Morrison. *Colonizer and Colonized*, volume 2 of the Proceedings of the XVth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association, "Literature as Cultural Memory," edited by Theo d'Haen and Patricia Krüs (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000,

paper € 118.00), is a 643-page miscellany. *Convergences & Interferences: Newness in Intercultural Practices. Ecritures d'une nouvelle ère/aire*, edited by Kathleen Gyssels, Isabel Hoving, and Maggie Ann Bowers (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002, paper € 70), is as *branché* and postcolonial as you can get, the first book in a new series entitled "Intersecting: Place, Sex and Race," with essays taking off from Derrida via Bhabha, Glissant, Rushdie, and others, several on Caribbean themes. Other unreviewed books of literary criticism include *The African and Caribbean Historical Novel in French: A Quest for Identity*, by Paschal B. Kyiiripuo Kyoore (New York: Peter Lang, 1999, paper US\$ 32.95); *The Caribbean Novel in English: An Introduction*, by M. Keith Booker and Dubravka Juraga (Portsmouth NH: Heinemann; Kingston: Ian Randle, 2001 paper US\$ 24.00); *Ficciones Isleñas: Estudios sobre la literatura de Puerto Rico*, by María Caballero (San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1999, paper n.p.); and *African Beliefs in the New World: Popular Literary Traditions of the Caribbean*, by Lucie Pradel (Trenton NJ: Africa World Press, 2000, cloth US\$ 24.95).

Turning to Cuba, the most studied as well as the most populous isle in the region, there are numerous unreviewed books, ranging from Carpentier's classic study of Cuban music to Jamail's analysis of Cuban baseball, with large numbers on the Castro regime, its critics, and the Cuban diaspora.

First, culture, sports, and tourism. *Music in Cuba*, by Alejo Carpentier (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001, cloth US\$ 34.95), is the first English translation of this 1946 classic. *Afro-Cuban Jazz*, by Scott Yanow (San Francisco CA: Miller Freeman Books, 2001, paper US\$ 17.50), a biographical encyclopedia and discography, is a must for enthusiasts of Caribbean jazz. *Cuban Festivals: A Century of Afro-Cuban Culture*, edited by Judith Bettelheim (Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2001, paper US\$ 22.95), is an expanded edition of this important collection first published in 1993 (see the review in *NWIG* 71:165-67). Religious esoterica is presented in *The Secrets of Afro-Cuban Divination: How to Cast the Diloggún, the Oracle of the Orishas*, by Ócha'ni Lele (Rochester VT: Destiny Books, 2000, paper US\$ 19.95).

Two on Cuba's national pastime: *Full Count: Inside Cuban Baseball*, by Milton H. Jamail (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000, cloth US\$ 24.95), and *The Duke of Havana: Baseball, Cuba, and the Search for the American Dream*, by Steve Fainaru and Ray Sánchez (New York: Villard, 2001, cloth US\$ 24.95). *Sport in Latin America and the Caribbean*, edited by Joseph L. Arbena and David G. LaFrance (Wilmington DE: Scholarly Resources, 2002, paper, US\$ 19.95), has three Caribbean chapters, two on sport in Cuba and the Dominican Republic, respectively, and one on basketball in the British West Indies.

The Caribbean portions of *The Female Body: Perspectives of Latin American Artists*, by Raysa E. Amador Gómez-Quintero and Mireya

Pérez Bustillo (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2002, cloth US\$ 64.95), deal mainly with Cuban artists, photographers, and writers, in particular Ana Mendieta, Marta María Pérez Bravo, and Cristina García, but there is also discussion of the work of Dominican novelist Julia Alvarez. *Mundos creados: Latijns-Amerikaanse fotografie*, by Wim Melis (Groningen, Netherlands: Stichting Aurora Borealis, 2002, cloth € 34.50), includes recent (and often far-out) art photography from Cuba, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico. *Cuba: Picturing Change*, by E. Wright Ledbetter, with essays by Louis A. Pérez Jr. and Ambrosio Fornet (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002, cloth US\$ 39.95), combines arty black and white photos with evocative essays, published in English and Spanish. *Havana in my Heart: 75 Years of Cuban Photography*, edited by Gareth Jenkins (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2002, cloth US\$ 29.95), shows many of the most gripping and beautiful photos ever made in Cuba, images impossible to forget.

Guidebooks include *The Havana Guide: Modern Architecture, 1925-1965*, by Eduardo Luis Rodríguez (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2000, paper US\$ 24.90), a real gem with fine illustrations; *Havana: A Cultural and Literary Companion*, by Claudia Lightfoot (Oxford: Signal Books, 2002, paper £ 12.00); *Culture and Customs of Cuba*, by William Luis (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2001, cloth US\$ 45.00), which seems rather more wooden and hurried than Michael Dash's book on Haiti in the same series (see below); *Havana*, by Scott Doggett and David Stanley (Melbourne: Lonely Planet, 2001, paper US\$ 14.95), which is probably as good as a brief guide for tourists gets; *Cuba: Dominicus*, by Marcel Bayer (Amsterdam: Gottmer, 1995, paper € 9.95), a Dutch-language guidebook; and *Sailing to Hemingway's Cuba*, by Dave Schaefer (Dobbs Ferry NY: Sheridan House, 2000, paper US\$ 19.95), which recounts a journalist's adventures.

Historical works on (mainly pre-Castro) Cuba include *Tragedy in Havana: November 27, 1871*, by Fermín Valdés-Domínguez, edited and translated by Consuelo E. Stebbins (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000, cloth US\$ 49.95), analyzing an important incident in the struggle for independence; *Cuba in War Time*, by Richard Harding Davis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000, paper US\$ 10.00), a reprint of the 1898 edition with drawings by Frederic Remington; *Spain's 1898 Crisis: Regenerationism, Modernism, Post-colonialism*, edited by Joseph Harrison and Alan Hoyle (Manchester, UK: University of Manchester Press, 2000 cloth £ 42.50), which includes several chapters on Cuba and Puerto Rico; *Representations of the Cuban and Philippine Insurrections on the Spanish Stage, 1887-1898*, by D.J. O'Connor (Tempe AZ: Bilingual Press, 2001, paper US\$ 17.00); *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba: From Independence to Castro*, by Jason M. Yaremko (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000, cloth US\$ 49.95); and *History of the Cuban Armed Forces: From Colony to*

*Castro*, by Jay Mallin, Sr. (Reston VA: Ancient Mariners Press, 2000, paper n.p.), written from a resolutely anti-Castro perspective. *¡O pan, o plomo! Los trabajadores urbanos y el colonialismo español en Cuba, 1850-1898*, by Joan Casanovas Codina (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 2000, paper US\$ 21.04), is the Spanish version of an English-language book that was reviewed very favorably in *NWIG* 74:301-2.

Unreviewed works dealing with revolutionary Cuba include *The Cuban Counter-Revolution*, by Jesús Arboleya (Athens: Ohio University Research in International Studies, 2000, paper US\$ 26.00); *Castro and Cuba: From the Revolution to the Present*, by Angelo Trento (New York: Interlink Books, 2000, paper US\$ 15.00); *Caribbean Revolutions and Revolutionary Theory: An Assessment of Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada*, a second edition of a 1993 book by Brian Meeks (Kingston: The University of the West Indies Press, 2001, paper J\$ 850.00, US\$ 20.00); *The Missile Crisis in Cuba*, by Keith Eubank (Malabar FL: Krieger Publishing Company, 2000, paper US\$ 19.50); *Cuban Communism*, edited by Irving Louis Horowitz and Jaime Suchlicki (New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2001, paper US\$ 34.95), which is the tenth edition, augmented, of an influential, 900-page reader; *Market, Socialist, and Mixed Economies: Comparity Polity and Performance, Chile, Cuba, and Costa Rica*, by Carmelo Mesa-Lago (Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000, cloth US\$ 75.00); *From the Escambray to the Congo: In the Whirlwind of the Cuban Revolution*, an interview with Víctor Dreke, edited by Mary-Alice Waters (New York: Pathfinder, 2002, paper US\$ 17.00); *Death of a Revolutionary: Che Guevara's Last Mission*, by Richard L. Harris (New York: Norton, 2000, paper US\$ 13.95), the revised edition of a 1970 book; and *Cuba's Island of Dreams: Voices from the Isle of Pines and Youth*, by Jane McManus (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000, cloth US\$ 24.95).

Several books on the Cuban diaspora: *In the Land of Mirrors: Cuban Exile Politics in the United States*, by María de los Angeles Torres (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001, paper US\$ 18.95), a reflexive, revealing history that stresses change through time in the Miami exile community; *ReMembering Cuba: Legacy of a Diaspora*, edited by Andrea O'Reilly Herrera (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001, cloth US\$ 50.00, paper US\$ 24.95), which presents more than one hundred testimonies by those who left, or whose parents did; *Cuban-Jewish Journeys: Searching for Identity, Home, and History in Miami*, by Caroline Bettinger-López (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000, paper US\$ 15.00); *Operation Pedro Pan: The Untold Exodus of 14,048 Cuban Children*, by Yvonne M. Conde (New York: Routledge, 1999, paper US\$ 16.95); and *The Cuban Exile Movement: Dissidents or Mercenaries? An Exposé of the Cuban American National Foundation and Anti-Castro Groups*, by Hernando Calvo and Katlijn Declercq (New York: Ocean Press, 2000, paper US\$ 16.95).

Four Puerto Rican publications, all in paperback, from the new San Juan publisher of intellectually stimulating essays, Ediciones Callejón: *Nación y Ritmo: "Descargas" desde el Caribe*, by Juan Otero Garabís (2000, n.p.), *La Raza Cómica: Del sujeto en Puerto Rico*, by Rubén Ríos Ávila (2002, US\$ 22.50), *Ciudadano Insano: Ensayos bestiales sobre cultura y literatura*, by Juan Duchesne Winter (2001, US\$ 18.95), and *Un País del porvenir: El afán de modernidad en Puerto Rico (siglo XIX)*, by Silvia Álvarez Curbelo (2001, US\$ 21.95). Two more on Puerto Rico: *Elecciones y partidos políticos de Puerto Rico, 1809-2000*, by Fernando Bayrón Toro (Mayagüez, Puerto Rico: Editorial Isla, 2000, paper US\$ 29.95), an updated edition of a 1977 book; and *Juan Ponce de León and the Spanish Discovery of Puerto Rico and Florida*, by Robert H. Fuson (Blacksburg VA: McDonald and Woodward, 2000, paper US\$ 19.95), a popular history. And two pamphlets on the Dominican Republic: *Identidad y Racismo en la República Dominicana*, by Carlos Esteban Deive (Santo Domingo: Editora Universitaria, 1999, paper n.p.), and *Apuntes de un viaje (mi viaje a Santo Domingo)*, by Jose Martí (Santo Domingo: Editora Universitaria, 1992, paper n.p.).

Four on Haiti that no one wished to review: *Culture and Customs of Haiti*, by J. Michael Dash (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2001, cloth US\$ 45.00), a balanced, erudite, and affectionate overview; *Falcon Brigade: Combat and Command in Somalia and Haiti*, by Lawrence E. Casper (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001, cloth US\$ 35.00), which is very much a retired colonel's version of events; *Haitians and African Americans: A Heritage of Tragedy and Hope*, by Leon D. Pamphile (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2001, cloth US\$ 55.00); and *Diasporic Citizenship: Haitian Americans in Transnational America*, by Michel S. Laguerre (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997, paper US\$ 24.95).

Living in the French Antilles, we see more than our share of publications on the Caribbean DOMs. Two local Martiniquan works of social science merit a note. *Souffrance et jouissance aux Antilles: Essai*, by André Lucrèce (Trinité, Martinique: Gondwana Editions, 2000, paper € 19.67), is a pretentious and rather abstract philosophical/sociological gaze on modernization in the French Antilles. *Martinique: La société vulnérable: Essai*, by Louis-Félix Ozier-Lafontaine (Trinité, Martinique: Gondwana Editions, 1999, paper 139 FF), much of which is of the same platitudinous genre, does include one long and interesting section that presents an argument linking Antillean modernization/consumerism (and various forms of gambling) with practices of magic (*quimbois/kimbwa*), and analyzes the rise of father-daughter incest as part of this package. Geographically-related works include *French Anti-Slavery: The Movement for the Abolition of Slavery in France, 1802-1848*, by Lawrence C. Jennings (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, cloth US\$ 54.95); *Voyage aux Antilles: De l'île en île, de la Martinique à Trinidad (1767-1773)*, by Jean Baptiste Leblond (Paris: Karthala, 2000, paper 150 FF),

which recounts among other wonders a voyage in a Black Carib canoe from Martinique to St. Vincent; *Demeures incertaines aux Amériques* (Gosier, Guadeloupe: Caret, 2002, paper € 15), another curious and intriguing little collection of Caribbeana in the “Petite bibliothèque du curieux créole”; *Les dessins de Jeanne: Le regard d'une femme béké sur la vie de l'habitation à la Martinique dans les années 20*, by Jeanne de Laguarigue de Survilliers (Habitation Saint-Étienne, Martinique: Traces, 2001, paper n.p.), which presents letters and drawings from a perspective not often revealed in Martinique; *Paysages et végétations des Antilles*, by Françoise Hatzenberger (Paris: Karthala, 2001, paper € 33.50), a serious work of ecology; Jil Silberstein's journalistic *Kali'na: Une famille indienne de Guyane française* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2002, paper € 25); and *Emergences caraïbes: Eléments de géographie politique*, by Monique Bégot, Pacal Buléon, and Patrice Roth (Paris: Harmattan, 2001, cloth € 19), which touts itself as “the first geopolitical atlas of the Caribbean” and indeed contains much useful information but which never quite frees itself from its Francophone gaze, e.g., besides Nobel winners, its list of famous Caribbean writers consists exclusively of Césaire, Glissant, Chamoiseau, and Confiant, then Carpentier, Martí, and Guillén, then Bob Marley and Claude MacKay, and finally Jacques Roumain – where for example, are Lamming, Brathwaite, and Wilson Harris? Where are Luis Palés Matos, Pedro Mir, and José Luis González? The book's bibliography holds the key: it lists fifty-seven works in French, five in English, and none in Spanish or Dutch.

Recent literary works on Martinique and Guadeloupe that aren't mentioned elsewhere in this essay include: Maryse Condé's *Célanire cou-coupé: Roman fantastique* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2000, paper € 19.67), which is exactly what the subtitle implies; another bodice-ripper by best-selling *béké* novelist Marie-Reine de Jaham, *Bwa-Bandé* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1999, paper € 21.19), whose title translates roughly as “Spanish fly”; *Two Years in the French West Indies*, by Lafcadio Hearn (New York: Interlink Books, 2001, paper US\$ 16.00), a reprint of the 1890 classic about St. Pierre, Martinique, and environs, on the eve of Mt. Pelée's eruption; and a major novel by Patrick Chamoiseau, *Biblique des derniers gestes* (Paris: Gallimard, 2001, paper € 25). We might also signal *Aimé Césaire: Pour regarder le siècle en face*, edited by Annick Thébia-Melsan (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2000, paper n.p.), the catalogue version of a traveling international exhibition of poetry, prose, and full-color art in honor of the master.

Ibis Rouge ([www.ibisrouge.fr](http://www.ibisrouge.fr)), which is once again based in Guyane, continues to be the most prolific (and indiscriminate) publisher of French-language books on the DOMs. This is the most generous of all French publishers, indeed almost the only one besides Gallimard, Robert Laffont, and Maisonneuve & Larose willing to provide review copies to *NWIG*. Some of its recent books are reviewed in this and other issues of the journal.

We list here others which may be of interest to our readers, including those co-published by Ibis Rouge and Presses universitaires créoles-GEREC/F – all in paperback. The first five are part of a series of works intended for the CAPES de Créole: in *Mémwè an fonséyè ou les quatre-vingt dix pouvoirs des morts* (2002, € 15), Raphaël Confiant presents interviews with a Basse Pointe gravedigger touching on diverse aspects of Creole belief and practice; *La fable créole*, by Jean Bernabé (2001, € 20), gives an overview of the creole genre inspired by Lafontaine; *Les Bambous: Fables de Lafontaine travesties en patois créole par un vieux commandeur*, by François Marbot (2002, € 22), is a modernized reprint of an 1846 work; Raphaël Confiant's *La Version créole* (2001, € 25) presents and comments on 43 short creole translations of poetry, drama, and prose; and finally there is *Guide de lexicologie des créoles guadeloupéen et martiniquais*, by Serge Colot (2002, € 22). Four collective miscellanies: *Regards sur l'histoire de la Caraïbe: Des Guyanes aux Grandes Antilles*, edited by Serge Mam Lam Fouk, Juan Gonzalez Mendoza, Jacques Adélaïde-Merlande, Jacqueline Zonzon, and Rodolphe Alexandre (2001, € 53.36), the proceedings of the 2000 meeting in Cayenne of the Association of Caribbean Historians; *Art et appropriation*, edited by Dominique Berthet (1998, 155 FF), the proceedings of the 1996 colloquium of the Centre d'études et de recherches en esthétique et arts plastiques; *La Caraïbe et son histoire: Ses contacts avec le monde extérieur*, edited by Lucien Abénon and Nenad Fejic (2001, € 22); and *La route du sucre: Du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, edited by Emile Eadie (2001, € 25), the proceedings, respectively, of 1999 and 2000 conferences held in Schoelcher, Martinique. There are a number of works in social science and history: *La désastre de la Pelée: Un récit de voyage et d'observation à la Martinique (mai-juin 1902)*, by George Kennan (2002, € 15), translated here in French; *Les femmes et la liquidation du système esclavagiste à la Martinique 1848-1852*, by Gilbert Pago (1998, 145 FF); *Guide de la veillée mortuaire*, by Diana Ramassamy (2002, € 13); and *Ethnobotanique et médecine traditionnelle créoles*, by Elizabeth Vilayleck (2002, € 19). There are two works on literature: Delphine Perret's *La créolité: Espace et création* (2001, € 25) and Raphaël Confiant's *Dictionnaire des titim et sirandanes (devinettes et jeux de mot du monde créole)* (1998, 165 FF). Finally, three works of literature: Roger Toumson's *La lyre et l'archet: Poèmes du suroît suivi de Palustre* (2001, € 13); Simonne Henry-Valmore's *Le jardinier et le bibliothécaire (Théâtre)* (2001, € 13); and in Lafcadio Hearn's *Contes créoles II* (2001, € 15), Louis Solo Martinel offers several previously unpublished bits of nineteenth-century Martiniquan folklore uncovered recently in Japan by one of Hearn's descendants there.

Ibis Rouge has also sent us nine recent works on Guyane: Serge Patient's *Le nègre du gouverneur* (2001, € 15), the republication of a 1978 novel

that won the 2001 Prix Carbet; *Vaval: L'histoire du carnaval de la Guyane française*, by Auxence Contout (2000, € 19.06); *Regard sur les Amérindiens de la Guyane française et du territoire de l'Inini*, by René Grébert (2001, € 18.00), which publishes a 1938 text about the Roucouyenne/Wayana; *La Guyane française au temps de l'esclavage, de l'or et de la francisation (1802-1946)* (1999, € 29.73), in which Serge Mam Lam Fouk reformulates several of his previous works; Maurice Thamar's *Les peines coloniales et l'expérience guyanaise* (1999, € 22.11), the publication of a 1935 doctoral dissertation; *Gaston Monnerville: Un homme d'état de la République française*, edited by Rodolphe Alexandre (2001, € 22.00), the proceedings of a 1997 colloquium in Cayenne; *Les îles du Salut: Guyane* (2001, € 7.62), an attractive guidebook in the series "Itinéraires du patrimoine," produced by the DRAC in Guyane; and, finally, *Mélodie pour l'orchidée* (2001, € 19.06), the second novel written by Lyne-Marie Stanley.

Several on Jamaica. *Lawyer Manley: Volume I, First Time Up*, by Jackie Ranston (Kingston: Press University of the West Indies, 1998, paper J\$ 900.00, US\$ 25.00), is a lively account of the court cases handled by the young Norman Manley in the 1920s. *Native Daughter: The Life and Times of a Jamaican Woman of the Soil*, by Z. Nia Reynolds (Oxford: Macmillan Caribbean, 2000, paper £ 12.00), is a fictionalized spoken biography, loosely based on conversations with the author's grandmother. *Rude Boy: Once Upon a Time in Jamaica*, by Chris Salewicz (London: Phoenix, 2000, paper £ 7.99), is a pop journalist's memoir of his twenty-year-long love affair with the island. *Firefly: Noël Coward in Jamaica*, by Chris Salewicz and Adrian Boot (London: Victor Gollancz, paper £ 12.99), mixes celebrity pix with celebrity gossip. Other Jamaicana includes: *Rex Nettleford: His Works, An Annotated Bibliography*, edited by Albertina Jefferson (Kingston: Canoe Press, 2000, paper J\$ 900.00, US\$ 20.00); *The Missionary Outreach of the West Indian Church: Jamaican Baptist Missions to West Africa in the Nineteenth Century*, by Horace O. Russell (New York: Peter Lang, 2000, paper US\$ 38.95); and *Classic Jamaican Cooking: Traditional Recipes and Herbal Remedies*, by Caroline Sullivan (London: Serif, 1996, paper £ 8.99, US\$ 14.95), a reprint of the 1893 edition, the first cookbook ever published in the Anglophone Caribbean.

Three Caribbean readers: *Caribbean Sociology: Introductory Readings*, edited by Christine Barrow and Rhoda Reddock (Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener, 2001, paper US\$ 34.95), a nicely-reproduced but hernia-threatening 1020 pages of reprinted articles; *Family in the Caribbean: Themes and Perspectives*, edited by Christine Barrow (Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener, 1999, paper US\$ 22.95), an unchanged reprint of the 1996 Ian Randle edition; and *New Caribbean Thought: A Reader*, edited by Brian Meeks and Folke Lindahl (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2001, paper



J\$ 2000.00, US\$ 45.00), which is the most intellectually interesting, and provocative, of the three.

Various works on Suriname went unreviewed but deserve mention. *Peace and Democracy in Suriname: Final Report of the Special Mission to Suriname (1992-2000)*, by Gary Brana-Shute, Christopher Healy, and A. Edgardo C. Reis (Washington DC: Unit for the Promotion of Democracy, Organization of American States, 2000, paper US\$ 14.00), is an official (and often triumphalist) report covering the civil war and its aftermath – a must-read for anyone interested in Suriname's present and future, though the silences (e.g., about drugs) are thundering. *Suriname, the Economy: Prospects for Sustainable Development*, edited by Pitou van Dijck (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2001 paper n.p.), presents sober economic assessments of the country's future possibilities. *Beyond Samuwaka: A History of the Trio Peoples*, by the Amazon Conservation Team Center for the Support of Native Lands (Paramaribo, Suriname: Foundation Meu Kwamalasamutu, 2001, paper n.p.), is an innovative and important document about which more can be learned at <<http://www.amazonteam.org>>. Regarding *Terug naar Uttar Pradesh: Op zoek naar de wortels van Surinaamse Hindostanen*, by Sandew Hira (The Hague: Amrit, 2000, paper NLG 15.00), Rosemarijn Hoeft reports (personal communication) that "this booklet forms part of a larger project on the history of British Indians and their descendants in both Suriname and the Netherlands, intended for non-professional researchers attempting to trace their roots in India; the volume is helpful, but does contain historical errors." Other works include: *Suriname onafhankelijk / Suriname Free: 25 November 1975*, by Roy Tjin (Amsterdam: KIT, 2000, paper n.p.); *Surinaams verhaal: Vestiging van de Hervormde kerk in Suriname (1667-1800)*, by J.W.C. Ort (Zutphen, Netherlands: Walburg Pers, 2002, paper NLG 49.50); *Suriname: Mensen, politiek, economie, cultuur, milieu*, by Armand Snijders (Amsterdam: KIT, 2000, paper NLG 22.90); *Recht en samenleving in de Nederlandse Antillen, Aruba en Suriname: Opstellen over recht en sociale cohesie*, by H.F. Munneke (Nijmegen, Netherlands: Wolf Legal Productions, 2001, paper € 15.60); *Dutch Transatlantic Medicine Trade in the Eighteenth Century under the Cover of the West India Company*, by A.M.G. Rutten (Rotterdam: Erasmus, 2000, paper € 27.00); and *The Jungle and the Damned*, by Hassoldt Davis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000, paper US\$ 16.95), the reissue of a 1952 potboiler about adventures along the border in French Guiana. Finally, this might be the place to mention *Slavery and the Romantic Imagination*, by Debbie Lee (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002, cloth US\$ 55.00), which includes the most detailed analysis ever proposed of William Blake's engravings for John Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition*.

Frank Dragenstein's 2002 University of Utrecht dissertation, published as "*De Ondraaglijke Stoutheid der Wegloopers*": *Marronage en koloniaal*

*beleid in Suriname, 1667-1768* (Utrecht: Centrum voor Latijns-Amerikaanse en Caraïbische Studies) proudly claims, allegedly in contrast to previous work on the subject, to be “based on research into archives, authentic documents and other scientific materials” (p. 305) and to “complete” the work of Price (p. 235), where “oral history” is said “to predominate.” Told strictly from a colonial perspective, it nevertheless fills in much detail, largely from the Dutch National Archives, on the early history of Saramakas as well as Ndyukas and Matawais, constituting a sort of road-map of relevant events as recorded in the archives. It is dispassionate history *par excellence* – very much one damn thing after another, a chronological slogging through of the documents – but it will be of interest to Suriname history buffs and serve as a useful resource for those seeking in the future to represent Suriname’s Maroon heritage more in the round. The book also symptomizes the routinization of writing about (and the representational flattening out of) supremely dramatic events, ones that continue to matter greatly to the descendants of the Maroons whom one sees only dimly through the Dutch words on these pages – see for example, the current Saramaka and Ndyuka petitions before the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights. And it exemplifies historical parochialism, claiming (pp. 18-20) that while the literature on marronage in Suriname is weak in the realm of theory, what little there is comes from Wim Hoogbergen and other Dutch or Surinamese authors; yet from an international perspective, it is rather the comparative work of non-Dutch scholars such as Kenneth Bilby (using both archival and oral materials) on the very treaties discussed by Dragenstein, or on the ethnogenesis of Maroon peoples, to name but one example among several that come to mind, that might be said to have general theoretical significance. One might have hoped that the author’s old-fashioned prejudice against history beyond the archives, and his staunchly separatist views of the historical and anthropological disciplines (see pp. 12-13), would have been mitigated by his dissertation advisors, but perhaps we are no more fully responsible for our students than for our children.

Three works on the arts in the Dutch sphere of influence: *Beeldende kunst in Suriname: De twintigste eeuw/Visual Art in Suriname: The Twentieth Century*, by Chandra van Binnendijk and Paul Faber (Amsterdam: KIT, 2000, cloth € 23.00), which is an updated reprint of their 1995 book; *Dutch Caribbean Art/Beeldende kunst van de Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba*, by Adi Martis and Jennifer Smit (Kingston: Ian Randle/Amsterdam: KIT, 2002, cloth US\$ 29.95), which is a useful, bilingual, colorful introduction to the visual arts, with emphasis on recent developments; and *St. Martin Massive! A Snapshot of Popular Artists*, edited by Fabian A. Badejo (Philipsburg, St. Martin: House of Nehesi, 2000, US\$ 25.00), which features biographies and photos of St. Martin’s “20 most popular artists” – painters, writers, and musicians – as determined by a recent poll.

Three nature books of note: *Checklist of the Birds of Northern South America: An Annotated Checklist of the Species and Subspecies of Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, Aruba, Curaçao, Bonaire, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, Suriname, and French Guiana*, by Clemencia Rodner, Miguel Lentino, and Robin Restall (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2000, paper US\$ 23.50), lists 2245 species with their subspecies and their scientific and English names. *Common Coastal Birds of Florida and the Caribbean*, by David W. Nellis (Sarasota FL: Pineapple Press, 2001, paper US\$ 21.95), is illustrated and attractive. And *De wilde vogels van Paramaribo/Wild Birds of Paramaribo* (Paramaribo: Stinasu, 2000, paper n.p.), is bilingual and illustrated.

A number of recent books on policy studies and international relations have gone unreviewed: *Handbook of Research on the International Relations of Latin America and the Caribbean*, by G. Pope Atkins (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 2001, paper US\$ 30.00); *Security in the Caribbean Basin: The Challenge of Regional Cooperation*, edited by Joseph S. Tulchin and Ralph H. Espach (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000, paper US\$ 19.95), which includes papers by leading experts first presented orally in 1996-97; *Resource Sustainability and Caribbean Development*, edited by Duncan F.M. McGregor, David Barker, and Sally Lloyd Evans (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 1998, paper J\$ 1500.00, US\$ 40.00); *The United States and Latin America: The New Agenda*, edited by Victor Bulmer-Thomas and James Dunkerley (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1999, paper US\$ 24.95); *The Second Century: U.S.-Latin American Relations since 1889*, by Mark T. Gilderhus (Wilmington DE: SR Books, 2000, paper US\$ 21.95); *Latin America and the World Economy since 1800*, edited by John H. Coatsworth and Alan M. Taylor (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1998, paper US\$ 24.95), which includes a chapter on Cuba; *Exiting the Whirlpool: U.S. Foreign Policy toward Latin America and the Caribbean*, by Robert A. Pastor (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 2001, paper US\$ 20.00), a second edition with some new materials, particularly on the Grenada Revolution; *Capital Markets, Growth, and Economic Policy in Latin America*, edited by Antonio Jorge, Jorge Salazar-Carrillo, and Bernadette West (Westport CT: Praeger, 2000, cloth US\$ 72.50); *Jamaica after NAFTA: Trade Options and Sectoral Strategies*, edited by Ann Weston and Usha Viswanathan (Kingston: Ian Randle, 1998, paper US\$ 19.95); and *Elements of Regional Integration: The Way Forward*, by Peter Wickham, Neville Duncan, Judith Wedderburn, Peggy Antrobus and Andaiye, Andrés Serbin, Francine Jácome, and Kertist Augustus (Kingston: Ian Randle, 1998, paper US\$ 22.95).

We are left with a number of miscellaneous works that deserve mention. *Captive Passage: The Transatlantic Slave Trade and the Making of the Americas* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002, cloth US\$

39.95), written by a battery of academic authorities, is the excellent illustrated catalogue for a traveling exhibition organized by the Mariners' Museum in Newport News, Virginia. *From Chains to Bonds: The Slave Trade Revisited*, edited by Doudou Diène (New York: Berghahn Books/UNESCO Publishing, 2001, cloth US\$ 27.50), which presents forty-odd contributions by specialists from a number of countries, was initially prepared for the inaugural meeting of UNESCO's Slave Route Project at Ouidah in 1994. *Caribbean Cultural Identities*, edited by Glyne Griffith (Lewisburg PA: Bucknell University Press; London: Associated University Press, 2001, cloth £ 22.50), makes available previously unpublished lectures (first presented in Barbados) by various luminaries, including George Lamming, Richard Allsopp, and Gordon Rohlehr. *The Cultures of the Hispanic Caribbean*, edited by Conrad James and John Perivolaris (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, cloth US\$ 49.95), includes essays by leading scholars. *The Equality of Human Races (Positivist Anthropology)*, by Anténor Firmin (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000, cloth US\$ 75.00), is the first English translation of this 1885 response by a Haitian scholar to de Gobineau's "classic" racist work of thirty years earlier. In *Lost White Tribes: Journeys among the Forgotten*, by Riccardo Orizio (London: Secker & Warburg, 2000, cloth £ 15.99), an Italian journalist goes in search of the Third World's dirt-poor, largely endogamous, white remnant communities, among others the *blancs matignon* of Guadeloupe, the Poles of Haiti, and the Germans of Jamaica. *World Music Volume 2: Latin & North America, Caribbean, India, Asia and Pacific*, edited by Simon Broughton and Mark Ellingham, with James McConnachie and Orla Duane (London: Rough Guides, 2000, paper £ 17.99, US\$ 26.95), is irrepressibly enthusiastic, whether or not you agree on the details, and ya gotta to love reading these quirky discussions of the musical histories and discography of various Caribbean places, from Suriname through the French Antilles to Cuba, with many other islands and nations along the way.

But there's more! Two on women: *Caribbean Women at the Crossroads: The Paradox of Motherhood among Women of Barbados, St Lucia and Dominica*, by Patricia Mohammed and Althea Perkins (Kingston: Canoe Press, 1999, paper J\$757.62, US\$ 18.00); and *Women's Movements in International Perspective: Latin America and Beyond*, by Maxine Molyneux (New York: Palgrave, 2001, paper n.p.), which includes materials on Cuba. Also: *Creolization in the Americas*, edited by David Buisseret and Steven G. Reinhardt (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000, paper US\$ 16.95); *Endless Education: Main Currents in the Education System of Modern Trinidad and Tobago, 1939-1986*, by Carl C. Campbell (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 1997, paper J\$ 900.00, US\$ 25.00); *The Urban Caribbean in an Era of Global Change*, by Robert B. Potter (Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2000, cloth US\$ 64.95); and *HIV/AIDS in the*

*Caribbean: Issues and Options*, by the World Bank (Washington DC: The World Bank, 2001, paper US\$ 22.00).

Continuing the list of miscellanea: *Global Multiculturalism: Comparative Perspectives on Ethnicity, Race, and Nation*, edited by Grant H. Cornwell and Eve Walsh Stoddard (Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001, paper US\$ 29.95), includes chapters on Trinidad and Tobago and Cuba. *Manufacturing Powerlessness in the Black Diaspora: Inner-City Youth and the New Global Frontier*, by Charles Green (Walnut Creek CA: Altamira Press, 2001, paper US\$ 24.95), presents research on the Anglophone Caribbean. *Politics of Identity: Migrants and Minorities in Multicultural States*, edited by Robert Hudson and Fred Réno (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000, cloth US\$ 75.00), includes chapters on Puerto Rico and the French DOMs. *Blacks and Britannity*, by Danièle Joly (Aldershot, Hampshire, UK: Ashgate, 2001, cloth US\$ 69.95), analyzes the situation of Afro-Caribbean youths, mainly in Birmingham.

And then there's *White Papers, Black Marks: Architecture, Race, Culture*, edited by Lesly Naa Norle Lokko (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001, paper US\$ 24.95); *The Slave Ship Fredensborg*, by Leif Svalesen (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000, cloth US\$ 45.00); *Reinventing Religions: Syncretism and Transformation in Africa and the Americas*, edited by Sidney M. Greenfield and André Droogers (Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001, paper US\$ 24.95); *Male Underachievement in High School Education in Jamaica, Barbados, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines*, by Odette Parry (Kingston: Canoe Press, 2000, paper J\$ 650.00, US\$ 18.00); *La Indianidad: The Indigenous World before Latin Americans*, by Hernán Horna (Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2000, paper US\$ 18.95); *Managing Public Finances in a Small Developing Economy: The Case of Barbados*, by Marion V. Williams (Westport CT: Praeger, 2001, cloth US\$ 64.95); *Diverse Worship: African-American, Caribbean & Hispanic Perspectives*, by Pedrito U. Maynard-Reid (Downers Grove IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000, paper US\$ 17.00); *Englishes in Contact: Anglophone Caribbean Students in an Urban College*, by Shondel J. Nero (Cresskill NJ: Hampton Press, 2001, cloth US\$ 42.50); *History and Histories in the Caribbean*, edited by Thomas Bremer and Ulrich Fleischmann (Frankfurt: Vervuert, 2001, paper € 29.80); *Piet Hein en de zilverbloot: Oorlog en handel in de West*, by Wendy de Visser (Hilversum, Netherlands: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2001, paper € 9.30); *Spanish Colonial Gold Coins in the Florida Collection*, by Alan K. Craig (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000, cloth US\$ 49.95); *Christianity in the Caribbean: Essays on Church History*, edited by Armando Lampe (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2001, paper J\$ 850.00, US\$ 20.00); and *Christian Missionaries and the State in the Third World*, edited by Holger Bernt Hansen and Michael Twaddle (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002, paper US\$ 22.95).

*Documenting Movements, Identity and Popular Culture in Latin America: Papers of the Forty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials*, Nashville, Tennessee, May 30 - June 3, 1999, edited by Richard F. Phillips (Austin TX: Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials [SALALM], Inc., 2000, paper n.p.), includes several papers on the Caribbean. And a vanity publication entitled *A Structural Analysis of Enslavement in the African Diaspora*, edited by James L. Conyers, Jr. (Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001, cloth US\$ 129.95), is a reader consisting of miscellaneous texts by a variety of mostly early-twentieth-century scholars – a rip-off if ever there was one.

Routledge has published a three-volume encyclopedia that includes the Caribbean: *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Latin American and Caribbean Cultures*, edited by Daniel Balderston, Mike Gonzalez, and Ana M. López (New York: Routledge, 2000, cloth US\$ 400.00). The inconsistency of the approach of the generally brief entries adds some interest to browsing. Thus, for example, the entry on Lamming (by Louis James) consists exclusively of plot summaries of the novels, while that on Césaire (by Ben A. Heller) is largely biographical. There are hidden corners throughout – from Havana's Bodeguita del Medio to Cuffy's Statue in Georgetown, from Sequin Art in Haiti to Trinidad Shouters – but on the whole it is difficult to see what purpose such a grand and diverse publishing enterprise serves in the era of the Internet. Meanwhile, Rebecca J. Scott, Thomas C. Holt, Frederick Cooper, and Aims McGuinness have edited a reference work of a very different kind, the sort of volume that graduate students embarking on related topics must put under their pillow immediately, *Societies after Slavery: A Select Annotated Bibliography of Printed Sources on Cuba, Brazil, British Colonial Africa, South Africa, and the British West Indies* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2002, cloth US\$ 65.00). This is the sort of widely collaborative project (involving a number of authorities not listed formally as editors), aimed at fellow scholars and students, that we should all cherish.

Finally, two Caribbean classics from the mid-1980s have recently been reprinted by new publishers: *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860-1899*, by Rebecca J. Scott (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000, paper US\$ 16.95), with a new afterword by the author; and *First-Time: The Historical Vision of an African American People*, by Richard Price (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002, paper US\$ 22.00), with a new preface by the author.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America 1780-1865.* MARCUS WOOD. New York: Routledge, 2000. xxi + 341 pp. (Paper US\$ 29.95)

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The imagery of slavery, Marcus Wood rightly notes, needs to be taken seriously. The author of a previous book on English radical satire and print culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, a painter, and a lecturer at the University of Sussex in England, Wood follows his own advice and provides close readings of a large number of illustrations produced over a fairly extensive period and on two continents. He considers a range of visual material: from beautiful oil paintings to crude woodcuts, from expensive engravings to cheap broadsides. Since popularity and longevity dictate his choices, he traces influences into the twentieth century; for example, the various ways in which the depictions of the slave ship *Brookes* are reproduced on Bob Marley's 1979 LP album cover *Survival* and on Barry Unsworth's 1992 dust jacket, *Sacred Hunger*. The book focuses on four themes: the Middle Passage, slave flight, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and slave torture. His quarry is "the semiotic core of Western responses to slavery," that is, those images that "exerted an immediate, and frequently lasting, cultural impact on Western culture" (p. 10).

In his first, substantive chapter, Wood devotes most attention to two major pictorial representations of the Middle Passage: the engraving *Description of a Slave Ship*, published by the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1789, and J.M.W. Turner's *Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and Dying, Typhon Coming On*, painted in 1840. The first was "the most famous, widely reproduced and widely adapted image representing slave conditions on the middle passage ever made" (p. 17). It emphasized passivity, as in the abolition seal, "Am I not a man and a brother?" which depicted a

kneeling, slave suppliant. It was successful, Wood suggests, because of its precision, its use of the most advanced techniques of naval architecture. "The conjunction of technical engraving with the depiction of a mass of black human flesh," Wood astutely notes, "is a superb semiotic shock tactic" (p. 27). The second, Turner's oil painting, "is the only indisputably great work of Western art ever made to commemorate the Atlantic slave trade" (p. 41). For Wood, it combines the sublime (the destructive force of nature in vivid color) and the ridiculous (the still-shackled leg), beauty and brutality, fury and dignity, blood red and bright gold, light and dark. The thirty or so pages deconstructing Turner's painting are one of the highlights of the book.

A second chapter explores the iconography of slave escape, the contending semiotic practices – escape and desertion, cowardice and heroism, rebel narrative and advertised property – which the runaway generated. The icon of the runaway, so standardized it appeared in printer's stock books, depersonalized the slave, and even in the abolition press the passivity and dependency of the fugitive are often stressed. Much of the chapter is devoted to a detailed analysis of the relationship of text and imagery in the slave narratives of Frederick Douglass, Henry Bibb, and Henry "Box" Brown.

A third chapter probes the representation of blacks in a key mid-nineteenth-century work, Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which, with all its merchandising spinoffs such as jigsaw puzzles, board and card games, and even wallpaper, "is a central archive for late Victorian popular fantasies of slave culture" (p. 146). But, in fact, the chapter is even more wide-ranging because, to understand the motifs of sentimental humor, violence, and sex that permeate George Cruikshank's illustrations, Wood traces his lengthy career and goes back to the late eighteenth century to show the influences on this "most famous graphic artist in the Western world" (p. 151) of such men as James Gillray and Richard Newton.

A final chapter investigates the imagery of torture. A slave collar, "beautiful in form and disgusting in function" (p. 221), is a witness to the power of artifacts to mislead. By contrast, Alexander Anderson's late eighteenth-century wood-engravings of slave punishment masks are praised for unflinchingly showing their effects on the slave body. And William Blake's famous "Whipping of a Samboe Girl" (1796) is said to invite us "to enjoy the sexual frisson elicited by such suffering beauty," thereby teetering "on the verge of pornography in order to confront us with our own corruptibility" (pp. 236-37). Actually, if Wood had cited the correct caption of this engraving, "Flagellation of a Female Samboe Slave," which his reproduced image clearly notes, his point might have gained even greater support (see also Stedman 1988:LXXVIII, 265).

As his title indicates, Wood recognizes the importance of memory but notes its selectiveness, the ability both to recollect and to forget. He is aware of the need to acknowledge the inheritance of slavery, but he is under no



illusions about ever recapturing the experience. In a short conclusion, he has some harsh criticisms of slavery museums, particularly the one in Liverpool. He approvingly quotes a Holocaust expert about being “witnesses to the unrepresentable” (p. 11), which does seem to put museums in an almost impossible bind. Embracing the irretrievability of the slave experience surely compromises the vitally important project of trying to recover that experience through social and cultural documents. And, as Wood notes, art has a special role because it can represent horror through beauty. Art can penetrate the thickest of veils, even occasionally working miracles and making the blind see. But to emphasize blindness and miscomprehension really does not help to explain how art creates and transmits memory.

This is an impressive book, full of smart insights, but with some weaknesses. I could have wished for a more historical approach, with the work taking a chronological rather than thematic approach. Some of the juxtapositions of images seemed random, with insufficient attention to the cultural moment and artistic traditions in which those images were produced. Just one example of a chance lost: Wood would have profited by comparing nineteenth-century depictions of runaway slaves with their eighteenth-century counterparts; see Lacey (1996). For much earlier antecedents of some of his motifs, see also Erickson and Hulse (2000). More space might have been devoted to contemporary conventions of beauty, taste, fashion, or, for that matter, race. Another weakness is that the book homogenizes rather than differentiates between Europe (almost entirely England) and America (mostly the United States, but with some passing references to Brazil and the Caribbean). Both space and time, then, are conflated into a single “abolitionist” moment. Finally, despite its length and copious illustrations (175 in all), the book is far from exhaustive. Wood notes three important exclusions: there is little here on representations of slave rebellions (both at sea and on land), day-to-day conditions of slavery, and the African side of the slave trade. It is to be hoped that Marcus Wood soon produces such a sequel.

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*Arising from Bondage: A History of the Indo-Caribbean People.* RON RAMDIN. New York: New York University Press, 2000. x + 387 pp. (Cloth US\$ 40.00)

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In *Arising from Bondage* Ron Ramdin covers the history of the Indo-Caribbean people in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In this synthesis he sets out to compare their experiences in Guyana, Trinidad, Suriname, Jamaica, Cuba, Grenada, Martinique, and Guadeloupe. As he states in the preface, "in spite of the many theses, papers, monographs, and articles (each emphasizing a specific aspect or aspects of the Indo-Caribbean experience) their limitations have highlighted the importance of a synthesis of the general and the particular, an alignment of the 'truffle' hunter's view with that of the 'parachutist'" (p. vii). I couldn't agree more. In the preface Ramdin also promises "an epic story" and an "invaluable bibliography" (p. viii) to whet the appetite even more.

The volume is divided into four chapters. The first is a general overview of how East Indian indentured labor was to save the Caribbean plantations after the abolition of slavery. The second chapter focuses on indentureship, free Indians, and the abolition of the indenture system. It has a geographical subdivision covering British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, and Suriname, respectively. Chapter 3 discusses East Indians and colonial Caribbean society, focusing on the four colonies mentioned above as well as Grenada and Cuba, and Martinique and Guadeloupe. The final chapter tackles the issue of identity in Guyana, Trinidad, Suriname, and Guadeloupe.

This brief synopsis may already reveal some of the book's limitations. First of all, Ramdin never explains exactly what indentureship or the terms of the labor contract entailed or how the legal system functioned. Another important problem is that he has opted for a geographical rather than a thematic approach. The result is that the same topics, such as arrival, community development, and religion, are treated separately for each area, leading to repetition rather than comparative analysis. Other topics are discussed for only one colony and are ignored in other places. To give only one example, Ramdin takes twenty pages to sketch a near-hagiographic portrait of Cheddi Jagan. Why not put Jagan's political career into context and compare him with other Indo-Caribbean political leaders, such as his

contemporary Jagernath Lachmon, who took a very different path to the political emancipation of "his people" in Suriname?

The next disappointment is the heavy emphasis on British Guiana and Trinidad. Given the historiography it is to be expected that most attention would be directed to the Indo-Caribbean people in these two places, but in a volume that claims to cover the experiences of the Indo-Caribbean people in the whole of the Caribbean, it is unsatisfactory for Suriname (where the people of British Indian descent are the largest population group) to get only 14 pages (or less than 4 percent). And Suriname gets more coverage than Jamaica (9 pages), Guadeloupe and Martinique (together 9 pages) or Cuba and Grenada (together 2 pages). In other words, more than 90 percent of this volume concentrates on Trinidad and British Guiana/Guyana, and this cannot be explained by a dearth of sources on the other countries.

What makes the imbalance even more troubling is that, judging by the parts on Suriname, the information given is not only incomplete but in places inaccurate as well. Within the short space of ten lines (p. 257) Ramdin states both that Dutch became "the official language in Surinam and the language of instruction in schools" in 1959 (when, in fact, this happened in the nineteenth century) and that Hindi was "spoken by the Indians, particularly in the Districts outside Paramaribo," and he misspells the lingua franca of this group as Sarnani (rather than Sarnami). The four pages on "post-colonial cultural pluralism" in Suriname starts with a quotation about Dutch ties with the Netherlands East Indies which tells nothing about Suriname, as the Dutch relationship with its Caribbean colonies was very different in character. The subheading about "Consocialism" may cause confusion; the term *consociationalism*, coined by Arend Lijphart and introduced as a model of political analysis for Suriname by Edward Dew, has little to do with socialism. The footnotes reveal that the three sections on Suriname are based on less than ten sources, the most recent of which was published in 1989.

Finally, despite claims that this volume is based "not only on official reports and papers, but also on unpublished material from disparate British, Indian and Caribbean sources" (p. vii), the great majority of the footnotes are based on well-known secondary sources. The personal accounts by (former) indentureds are taken from *The Still Cry* by Noor Kumar Mahabir (1985). The bibliography is indeed extensive, including many more publications than were actually used by the author, but it is not easy to use because of its awkward technical layout. The volume lacks an index.

A number of subchapters show how fascinating the history of the Indo-Caribbean population is, but as a whole, *Arising from Bondage* is less successful. The parachutist has touched down in different places, but often hardly took his time to get a closer look, and he has not managed to get a comprehensive view from above. The three-page conclusion fails to bring all

the different strands together. I am afraid we have to wait a while longer for a solid comparative study of the Indian experience in the Caribbean.

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*The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas*. DAVID ELTIS. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. xvii + 353 pp. (Paper US\$ 19.95)

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An African man named Mahitica had stepped onto the deck of a slave ship for the last time as a partner in the centuries-old trade that shipped *peças da Guiné* merchandise from Guinea to the Americas. He was used to offering his services to slavers who dropped anchor in the port of Cabinda, one of the busiest entrepôts for what was already being called the nefarious trade. Mahitica's services were always the same: he specialized in doing a wide range of jobs aboard a slave ship as a *bomba*, the person in charge of communicating with the *peças* crowded in the hold. He was a kind of interpreter and mouthpiece who transmitted the captain's orders to the shackled slaves, told them when food or a storm was coming, and passed on all the information that the captain thought his cargo should hear.

Captain Ramiro Xavier de Moraes had known Mahitica for a long time, and he may have set a trap for the *bomba*. According to the captain, in Cabinda the crime of theft was punished with slavery, particularly when the accused did not enjoy the protection of a local chief. Mahitica had been given a large amount of textiles to trade in exchange for slaves, but he had apparently made off with them instead. As a result, he was imprisoned in the ship while an assembly of local tribal leaders met to try him for the crime, or, in the language of that region, to hold a *fiendar cavala*, or judgment rite. With the local chiefs' approval, his punishment was that of becoming yet another piece of merchandise in a trade in which he had been a partner for many years.

The irony of the African's situation must have filled his mind with horrid imaginings as he went down into the dark hold of the ship, coming face to face with his customary victims, who were now fellow travelers, or *malungos*. However, Mahitica was not alone in his plight. Amid the crowd of black faces, he noticed one that was familiar: José, an African slaver who had also taken part in Cabinda's slave trade system. José and Mahitica must have met on numerous occasions while plying their trade of offering human merchandise to European traders who stopped in the port. Although José's story was similar to Mahitica's, it had different chapters. José had easily followed the slave trading system between Luando and Congo. He was traveling through the vast Zaire River Basin when locals there accused him of a crime. He was held hostage in a village until the captain of the *Amizade Feliz* ransomed him with textiles that were worth a fortune by the standards of the slave ship's commander.<sup>1</sup>

We have no knowledge of the further adventures of these two Africans, who demanded their freedom of the Brazilian authorities when they arrived in the city of Rio de Janeiro in 1829. David Eltis's magnificent book does not tell us how their stories ended or even give a more detailed analysis of the African slave trade with Brazil, the slave society that received the largest number of imported Africans in the Americas. However, this does not make his excellent study any less important for Brazilian historians and others from several societies of the Americas. It serves as the basis for understanding the formation of the slave societies that were articulated with European and African inventions. The self-images of Africans and Europeans had been somehow reinvented in the context of the slave trade.

Eltis, one of the most important historians of this subject, provides a spectacular history of the Atlantic world in this book. His analysis does not simply skim the surface but delves deeply into the Atlantic dimensions of the slave trade and African slavery. His book is replete with sophisticated approaches to the subject. To begin with, it retrieves the varied meanings of slavery and freedom. The modern Atlantic world emerges, revealing symbols, meanings, expectations, demands, and moral, political, economic, and cultural justifications. The dichotomy of slavery and freedom takes on different aspects (definitions of status varied), both for modern European societies and the diverse and complex societies of the Americas and Africa. What is more, throughout the seventeenth century, slavery in the Americas gradually became synonymous with African slavery. This book also indicates that African societies were not passive historical entities subject to a

1. See these official communications from the chief of police to the minister of justice documented in the Arquivo Nacional: Ofícios do Chefe de Polícia ao Ministro da Justiça, IJ 6 164, 1825-30, 11/05/1830. The agreement reached between these two Africans can be found in ANRJ, IJ 6 165, 05/06/1831. See also Gomes & Soares 2001.

supposedly inexorable commercial logic. Instead, there existed an economic and cultural movement of transatlantic connections. Eltis also points out important analytical keys to understanding the complex logics surrounding the slave trade and Atlantic slavery. Thus, he enters African territories, revealing the trade systems and associated wars, forms of power and prestige in local societies.

His approach involves a dense combination of economics, politics, and demography. The chapters on gender issues and African identities in the slave trade are extremely interesting. Going beyond the stereotypes of Europeans as avaricious traders and Africans as helpless victims, he unveils a variety of protagonists and historical events, such as specialized occupations, slave-ship revolts, and African societies that went from being partners in the slave trade to being merchandise, as well as the trading systems controlled by sectors of African societies. This brings to light important methodological questions about the treatment of sources and about theoretical approaches to the role of the reconstruction of African identities in the diaspora. The complexity of Eltis's analysis reaches its height in the comparative perspective that reveals the transoceanic logics of migrations, articulating the African and European impacts and productivity and profits of those involved in the trading networks, as well as the configuration of the Atlantic slave system. Eltis also proposes a historiographic approach, commenting on how several generations of historians have analyzed the formation and disruption of the Atlantic slave system.

The colonial worlds of slavery, plantations, and racism were laboratories for Atlantic experiences in a movement involving the gestation of ideas (together with their economic dimension) and agency about them. Although they are not part of his subject matter, the experiences of the Africans mentioned above take on new historical meanings when articulated with the analyses that Eltis proposes. It is also essential to retrieve the connections and circulation of ideas in vast regions of the African continent and its microsocieties, particularly identity reconstruction movements. Indications of these transatlantic experiences and some local meanings emerge.<sup>2</sup> The Atlantic world reveals currents, and its shores can be connected.

2. Breaking with strictly quantitative analyses, important works of Brazilian historiography have more recently retrieved the political economy and social history of the slave trade (see Alencastro 2000; Rodrigues 1999, 2000, and 2001). See also the perspectives in Gilroy 1993.

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*Masters of All They Surveyed: Exploration, Geography, and a British El Dorado*. D. GRAHAM BURNETT. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000. xv + 298 pp. (Cloth US\$ 45.00, Paper US\$ 27.50)

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When placing the subjects of their studies, scholars across the humanities and social sciences employ a lingua franca of geographic names derived from the historical claims of national states and colonial empires. In *Masters of All They Surveyed*, D. Graham Burnett sets himself the task of examining how one such spatial unit came to be, using the case of the former British colony Guyana and concentrating on the actual practices of exploration that defined its features and limits. The result is a dense but illuminating study about the daunting and symbolically charged task of definition facing a nineteenth-century explorer, one that should give us all pause when casually gesturing to our unrolled maps.

Burnett is a historian of science, and this book has its origins in his dissertation. Although he rightly notes that the topic crosses the boundaries of several fields, and he certainly draws on a range of literatures in his analysis, readers will find ample signs of disciplinary orientation while en route. In essence, this book follows the trail of one surveying master in particular, Robert Schomburgk, and a series of expeditions he undertook in British Guiana between the mid-1830s and early 1840s. Schomburgk proves an interesting figure, but although Burnett structures the study around him the text imparts relatively little information about his life. Rather, its focus remains on this explorer's work as an agent of cartographic knowledge, and the context in which that work took place. Inspired by Sir Walter Raleigh on the one hand and Alexander von Humboldt on the other, our man set out to be an explorer in the civilizing mode of imperialism, carving the Queen's mark into trees even as he worried about the well-being of Amerindians. Operating under the auspices of both the Royal Geographical Society and the colonial governor, his various expeditions struggled to meet the multiple, and sometimes contradictory, demands of local and metropolitan authorities, while the expeditions produced mixed political and scientific results. Schomburgk famously claimed to have found the site of Raleigh's mythic El Dorado, but the maps he left produced only further ambiguities and controversy, not final clarity.

Burnett highlights tensions within Schomburgk's overlapping projects, including the essential problems of establishing whether a particular patch of land was *terra incognita*, of interpreting local knowledge gathered from guides, and of asserting British claims without unduly provoking the colony's neighbors. Schomburgk was a practitioner of a cartographic method known as "transverse survey," a poor cousin of the trigonometric variety that essentially involved slogging along a route and transcribing the best measurements possible under the circumstances. Burnett makes a case for the significance of the method to colonial exploration, while simultaneously noting its inherent limitations. Beset by the hazards of corroded instruments and wandering maps, a transverse survey faced challenges similar to those of nautical navigation, and translated uneasily into the forms of knowledge expected in the formation of land boundaries. Guesses Schomburgk hazarded about which river was the tributary and which the source haunted later border disputes, and one mistake he made ironically ended up supporting a British claim against Brazil by demonstrating Brazilian plagiarism (p. 246). Burnett has a keen eye for the richness of such details, and the book contains many a sharp *aperçu* about the contingencies and contradictions of imperial knowledge, not simply subsumed into military or economic interest. As he notes, in the immediate sense of expeditionary finances and repute, Schomburgk's most significant discovery was inherently ephemeral: a large water lily that became a metropolitan sensation and consequently



saved his career (pp. 82-83). At the same time, however, Burnett cautions against the dangers of overemphasizing contingency as a master trope of colonial empire, casting his work as a partial corrective to Peter Rivière's *Absent-Minded Imperialism* (1995). Whatever Schomburgk may have been doing upriver, he was not sleepwalking; the source of ambiguity in imperial borders lay not in a state of mind but rather in the very techniques used to define them (p. 216).

Burnett's densely packed volume demands its own form of transverse survey, and readers with different interests may take somewhat different routes or identify different landmarks. For my part, I found Chapters 3 and 6 most engaging, the former constituting the core of his theoretical discussion about surveying and the latter containing three more detailed expedition narratives. I also wondered more than once why a work on cartography, outfitted with eighteen elegantly-reproduced color plates and thirty-three black and white figures, did not contain a map of contemporary Guyana for orientation, or at least an explanation of why its omission adhered to theoretical principle. Other navigation aids to help place Schomburgk would also have come in handy; as an additional source of nominal confusion the explorer's brother Richard appears and disappears several times without ever being fully introduced. And the perennial question of whether this case study represents a more general pattern or its exception repeatedly came to mind as the narrative shifts between an individual explorer, a particular colony, and the larger phenomenon of spatial definition under empire. One crucial point, however, should be abundantly clear to all who make the journey: geography is a human enterprise and even the most exacting cartography cannot escape its status as representation or the arbitrariness of its grounding. In the end there are no "natural" or perfect boundaries on the ground. As Burnett puts it succinctly in commenting on border disputes: "Maps on maps add up to maps" (p. 261). One can only wish that more parties in such conflicts might someday achieve this insight.

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*From the Field to the Legislature: A History of Women in the Virgin Islands.*  
EUGENIA O'NEAL. Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2001. xiii +150 pp.  
(Cloth US\$ 62.95)

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Patriarchy, white and black, has adversely affected the lives of black women in the British Virgin Islands from slavery to present times. Nevertheless, women have played a vital role in the development of society in this Caribbean region. Through their own ingenuity in the postslavery (colonial) period in particular, women became active economic agents, community leaders, and role models in their own right. As such, some women have achieved, but most are still concentrated at the lower rungs of the economic ladder. Because they have internalized patriarchal norms and values, however, women have been unable to forge a group consciousness, and develop a sense of their own oppression in the face of male dominance and power. Consequently, no women's movement has emerged. These are the main arguments in Eugenia O'Neal's *From the Field to the Legislature*.

Based largely on secondary sources, the book is divided into an introduction and eight chapters. The first chapter deals with women and slavery. Chapter 2 focuses on the ideas and activities of Methodist missionaries and abolitionists, including the impact they had on African cultural beliefs and practices, and on the construction of the black woman's image. The remaining chapters explore the contribution of women in the postslavery period in such areas as farming, petty commerce, sewing, healthcare, education, politics, and the civil service.

In spite of the paucity of data on slavery, O'Neal does a good, inventive job on this period that permits familiar, if only fleeting, glimpses of slave women. The plantation economy of the Virgin Islands depended on the labor of slave women, who performed the same arduous tasks as men. Women also took leadership roles in the preservation of African cultural heritage such as song and dance, the use of herbs, and the practice of African forms of spiritualism, such as Obeah. As hucksters, they sold fish, straw baskets and other items on behalf of their female owners – white and mixed-race – who depended on their income-earning ability (p. 14). O'Neal argues that the use of slave women in these commercial ventures “allowed white women to remain on their pedestals, above the realm of ‘dirty’ commerce” (p. 18).

In freedom, black women in the Virgin Islands amplified the roles they played during slavery, and pursued formerly unattainable goals, particularly in politics. Before tourism in the 1960s, agriculture remained pivotal and the primary occupation of women. Women cultivated root crops and sold them at local and inter-island markets, including St. Thomas – a U.S. possession since 1917. They also sold printed muslin, salted provisions, baked goods, and charcoal that they produced. Women became owners of small shops, taverns, and boats. Seamstresses made laces, hats, and wedding gowns. Until their influence waned with the rise in importance of nurses, midwives practiced their craft widely.

As with nursing, most teachers were women. After slavery, women ran church and nondenominational schools, often in their own homes, which also served as places of worship on Sunday evenings. Among the many dedicated educators were women like Enid Leona Scatliffe, who began her career in 1939, and became the first woman to be appointed as chief education officer in 1974. However, O'Neal does not indicate what her accomplishments were.

With regard to politics, O'Neal indicates that women's impact has been "negligible" (p. 135). Black men defied the odds, occupied authoritative positions within the civil service, and participated in the exclusion of women from politics. However, "exceptional women" (p. 115) broke through. After successive failed attempts, two of the six who ran for office in 1995 won. Women became heads of government departments. They were appointed to high political office, including attorney general and permanent secretary. They created activism around the Women's Desk, a state organization created in the 1980s to sensitize government ministries to gender issues, and a "victory for women's groups" (p. 121). But O'Neal, head of the Women's Desk from 1982 to 2000, contends that its achievements have been limited, that women have not addressed issues from a "feminist perspective" (p. 119), and that their success has posed no threat to patriarchy.

Patriarchy remains an enduring phenomenon in Caribbean and other societies. O'Neal's preoccupation with the ideological has resulted in scant treatment of the ways in which women have navigated around this obstacle. Also, her tendency to speculate and draw conclusions from very thin or nonexistent evidence is pervasive and unwarranted. For example, the women who won elections in 1995 were successful mainly because they were middle-aged and "no longer perceived as sexual beings" (p. 133). Do Caribbean populations trust young politicians, female or male? In this and other instances, O'Neal's book would have benefited from examples drawn from other regions of the Caribbean.

*From the Field to the Legislature* is distinctive in its scope and focus on black women in a British outpost in the Caribbean that has been ignored,

if not forgotten. In this regard, it makes a useful contribution to Caribbean historiography.

*West Indians in West Africa, 1808-1880: The African Diaspora in Reverse.*  
NEMATA AMELIA BLYDEN. Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press,  
2000. xi + 258 pp. (Cloth US\$ 75.00)

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Nemata Blyden has produced a fine book that adds significantly to the history of Sierra Leone, but is rather slim on the West Indian side. After briefly examining the Jamaican Maroons and the Barbadian rebels who were deported to Sierra Leone in 1819, she focuses her study on a limited number of West Indian men who were civil servants and, in a few cases, merchants, journalists, or other professionals. Many came with a desire to raise up Africa and several were agitators who sought to protect or advance the status of people of color. Some achieved great prominence while in Sierra Leone. Blyden explores particular episodes to illustrate changes in British conceptualization of "race" and official hiring, promotion, and other practices, the ways that affected West Indians, and the ways they reacted. Most of her information is drawn from Colonial Office records and newspapers. The outline of events and issues is familiar, but Blyden's depth of treatment and interpretation make this an important political and intellectual history. It is not, however, social history: we do not learn much about the personal lives of the protagonists, their connections with Sierra Leoneans, or their day-to-day relations; and women are barely mentioned. Although West Indians – who in the 1840s and 1850s numbered about 100 and in 1860 over 160 – were accused at times of nepotism, there also was infighting and there were personal antagonisms among them; in the end we are uncertain about the extent to which an ongoing West Indian community existed.

Most of the transatlantic migrants came from Jamaica or Trinidad; some had both African and European ancestry, and several had studied in Britain or held assignments elsewhere in the British colonial world. Among the most notable was William Fergusson, whose mother was of African background

and whose father was a Scot. After studying medicine at Edinburgh University, he went to Sierra Leone in 1814, was commissioned to the Royal African Corps, and then applied to join the Sierra Leone medical service, having the abolitionists Zachary Macaulay and William Wilberforce vouch for him. One of Blyden's themes is that during the first half of the century officials in Britain felt that West Indians of African descent were particularly qualified for work in West Africa. Fergusson, among others, played upon this to his advantage in being appointed. In the colony, Europeans as well as Sierra Leoneans respected him personally and went to him for treatment, and, according to Blyden, "colonial officials did not see Fergusson's race as a hindrance" (p. 62) when he rose to become lieutenant governor and governor. He held posts in Sierra Leone until his death in 1846, and his success, Blyden feels, opened the way for other West Indians to follow. Conversely, the career of Robert Douglass, who began as a trader and became governor, may have marked a turning point; he was severely criticized and then dismissed for venturesome policies. By the later 1850s, the Colonial Office showed "increasing antipathy toward West Indians" (p. 113) in the service, in part because European longevity increased and new racialist views took hold. British officials began to attribute certain qualities and types of behavior to people of African background and use that to question their capacity to hold top posts.

Blyden devotes chapters to the Trinidadian Alexander Fitzjames and to William Rainy, from Dominica, and also examines several others, especially Magnus Smith and William Drape, who were perceived by the British as "outsiders" and "agitators." She argues that British authorities attempted to divide the population through accusation and labeling. In the case of Fitzjames, also of Euro-African ancestry, Blyden is able to draw together his years in Trinidad, where he challenged racism and the legacy of slavery, with his Sierra Leone career as queen's advocate and acting governor. When he was suspended in 1858, the public thought that race was an issue. Drape and Rainy were leaders in using the press and other means to generate widespread discussion of sensitive issues. Rainy – who began as a civil servant, went to Britain for a law degree, and then used the law to advance the cause of people of color – saw race as an Atlantic issue and was an early Pan-Africanist in Blyden's analysis. Drape, a merchant who published and edited the first black-owned newspaper, relished his role as agitator and defender of a free press. He, too, was denounced by the governor of the time. Throughout the book, Blyden brings these characters and their ideas and struggles to life in an engaging and readable manner.

Blyden raises important questions about identity and the changing relationships among people of African descent – and answers most. She states that in this new setting West Indians acquired a sense of themselves based partly on common area of origin, but presents little about the content of that identity.

Her effort to theorize West Indians as “strangers” or “marginal men” does not seem to add much. On the other hand, her historical arguments are significant for Atlantic as well as Sierra Leone history and are quite compelling. West Indians did not feel kinship with indigenous Africans, yet before mid-century they came to view themselves as allied with Sierra Leoneans versus the British. Sierra Leonean settlers, who eventually became the Creoles or Krio, respected and looked up to West Indians in the early period because of their status and accomplishments, but as a Sierra Leone elite emerged they often saw those from the Americas as rivals and outsiders. Some did return home or took assignments elsewhere, but the small number who remained gradually assimilated into Creole society. After 1860, the Colonial Office favored Sierra Leoneans over West Indians when filling administrative posts, and local figures advanced during the era that ended with the conquest of the interior in the 1890s. Yet, mainly because of European racism, none gained the highest ranks held earlier by West Indians. Blyden’s valuable, path-breaking book will undoubtedly stimulate more studies of the “reverse diaspora” and of interaction among people of African descent around the Atlantic during the nineteenth century.

*The George Beckford Papers.* KARI LEVITT (ed.) Kingston: Canoe Press, 2000. lxxi + 468 pp. (Paper n.p.)

*Community Formation: A Study of the “Village” in Postemancipation Jamaica.* AUDLEY G. REID. Kingston: Canoe Press, 2000. xvi + 156 pp. (Paper n.p.)

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The late George Beckford believed that the Anglophone Caribbean peasantry offered hope for development in the region. Audley Reid shares this view in the more specific context of Jamaica. Beckford’s papers articulate a way out of the socioeconomic and psychological dependence that constitutes “plantation economies” à la Caribbean, while Reid’s text focuses more on an interpretation of a past which he believes can illuminate Jamaica’s present. As Reid sees it, the Jamaican peasant community of the past shaped

the solid values of respect, integrity, and self-help necessary to regenerate contemporary Jamaican society. Both books propose that this stratum more or less inhabited, and continues to inhabit, a moral economy.

Reid's concerns are informed by the following question: how can past experiences best be ploughed to aid the present and future structuring of the socioeconomic and cultural space of Jamaica? He finds something particularly exemplary and modular in the way in which nineteenth-century ex-slaves formed communities with the help of such nonconformist Churches as the Baptist, Moravian, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan. He is convinced that the very existence of these communities, and the values, world views, and cultural practices nurtured within them, offer critical symbols and necessary hope to contemporary Jamaica, in light of social and cultural institutions' loss of purchase. As he states in his last chapter, aptly titled "Community Today," "Jamaica has slowly shifted from the corporate to the con man, ... from the islander to the individual, ... from the businessman to the bogeyman, ... from the caring to the callous" (p. 142). The task that Reid sets himself is to prove that these communities offer a legacy worth emulating and celebrating. Chapters 3 through 6 discuss how the formation of these free "villages" were influenced by religious, economic, and political circumstances. The trust built by nonconformist ministers among the enslaved before emancipation endured during the postemancipation period. Ministers collaborated with ex-slaves to facilitate their acquisition of property and consequent settlement. The buying and planning of these communities evinced a high degree of organization, allowing churches to sell property based on individuals' needs and the size of the common nuclear family. Religiously homogeneous, the communities were located close to plantations, affording newly freed people the option to work nearby. As religious communities, they fostered a stability based on respect, caring, and moral responsibility. There, a certain Afro-European Jamaicanness became possible. Reid argues strongly for the existence of this hybrid identity. Churches and the newly freed took advantage of the availability of land following the bankruptcy of the planter class, but it is certainly not the case, as Reid himself shows, that this resulted only in the establishment of Church settlements. Newly freed people also took advantage of political loopholes and certain late-colonial developments to establish communities. All of this leads Reid to emphasize that a sense of community was pervasive throughout Jamaica and that this sense needs to be recaptured in order to rehabilitate and restore the contemporary nation. He ends the book with a set of recommendations that raise issues about national values, about restating the history of family, Church, market, and education, and about celebrating the institutions and ideologies "relating to the new postemancipation social structure," (p. 137) since they service the needs of the villages. In the restoration of community, religion is paramount.

Much of the secondary literature, upon which Reid relies heavily, and the concepts native to that literature have come under critique for their Eurocentric preoccupations and often inaccurate assumptions about family. The book could have benefited from a more critical perspective, and could have been less vague about who precisely is to undertake the restoration of society. The text could also have benefited from more careful editing.

George Beckford's deep concern about the survival of Caribbean people, the "small man," is etched in all of the writings selected for the volume edited by Kari Levitt. They demonstrate the trajectory of Beckford's conscientious engagement with the region's socioeconomic problems, as well as their cultural consequences. The book lives up to its claim to be representative of Beckford's interest in both agricultural economics and political economy. Levitt's comprehensive introduction calls attention to the diversity of Beckford's thought and the thoroughness of his analyses. The volume discloses the full range of Beckford's concerns vis-à-vis development, development economics, and the sociology of dependence and underdevelopment, concepts deployed in analyses of Third World economies in the 1960s and 1970s, not merely concentrating on the most famous of his texts, *Persistent Poverty*. Shaped no doubt by his North American and Caribbean experiences, Beckford, an agricultural economist, was sensitive to the role of race in shaping national and international socioeconomic environments. He took great pains to point out to his peers and others the need to unhinge issues of economic growth from those of economic development in order to alleviate, with as little political squabbling as possible, the impoverishment of the people composing the black diaspora.

The text is divided into four thematic sections. Parts I and II capture Beckford's wide-ranging understanding of economic theoretical models and their limitations for understanding the particularities of Third World economies, in particular plantation economies. Beckford criticizes such models as the Schultz High Pay-Off Model for lumping together all agricultural systems existing outside of the most notable industrialized countries, which include Israel. Beckford accuses Schultz of understanding neither the plantation economies of "the Caribbean, Central America, parts of South America and Asia; nor the peasant export-economies of Africa; nor the European-owned estate sectors of parts of that economy" (p. 149). Critiques of the assumptions behind such models, which failed to describe the functioning of much of the world, led Beckford's life work.

Though these ideas were set forth elegantly in *Persistent Poverty*, Levitt's volume reveals that Beckford clarified many of the ideas contained in that text in a number of papers presented worldwide after *Persistent Poverty*'s enormous success. Consider his sharp critique of Marxists, who insisted on subsuming race within class. Marxists represented for him a general resistance to grapple with the specificities of plantation economies, whose



imported labor component was made possible by race. Class and race were difficult to distinguish, and Beckford's work came in time to admit that international capitalism was about class exploitation as much as it was about racial exploitation, thus challenging the prevailing Marxist perspective in Jamaica and elsewhere in the Caribbean. This was an important admission for Beckford, because it became central to his explication of the nature of plantation economies, particularly those revolving around the black diaspora in the Americas, which linked Africa with Europe.

Parts III and IV, "Beyond Economics: Issues of Race, Class and Black Dispossession" and "Black Affirmation, Cultural Sovereignty and Caribbean Self-Reliance," reveal the heart of Beckford's concerns: the welfare of the Caribbean "small man." Although he enjoyed the brilliant career of an internationally renowned scholar, Beckford was no careerist. As this volume shows, he was interested in the welfare of the common Caribbean. Focused on ameliorating the economic condition of peasants, he located the creation of the peasant stratum within the womb of the plantation and recognized the peasant's centrality to the formation of a domestic economy. He was nevertheless concerned that political leaders had, through sheer European mimicry, undermined peasants' efforts at economic diversification. These sections convey the scholarship and humanitarianism of a man engaged in the eradication of an economic and psychological dependence deeply embedded in the Caribbean. As Levitt put it, Beckford believed that "[t]he Caribbean people, freed from the economic, social and political legacies of the plantation, could, 'transform what is physically the most beautiful part of the planet Earth into a human paradise'" (p. xx).

This is an important book. It provides the reader with a wonderful sense of the range and depth of Beckford's scholarly and political contributions. Furthermore, in contextualizing Beckford's work, Levitt's careful introduction gives the reader a sense of the times. Those scholars who neither knew George Beckford nor know his writings, and also those unfamiliar with the time, may now grasp how scholars like Beckford and his New World colleagues prioritized and defined the urgent concerns of that time; they may understand how it was that Beckford and others came to emphasize the state without interrogating its constitution, even as they recognized its global interstate location and its limitations within a highly racist international world economy. Although not all the questions with which Beckford and the New World scholars were concerned are relevant at this time, their concern for inequality and for Caribbean sociocultural identity are timeless.

*Narratives of Resistance: Jamaica, Trinidad, the Caribbean.* BRIAN MEEKS. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2000. xviii + 240 pp. (Paper J\$ 800.00, US\$ 25.00)

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*Narratives of Resistance* represents an analysis of the social and political reality of the contemporary Caribbean. In this short book, Brian Meeks argues epistemologically for a new understanding of the concept of resistance. Methodologically, he advocates new approaches to its study, and new ways of discerning the praxis of the subaltern.

Meeks begins with an intriguing story of a Jamaican police detainee, Donald "Zeeks" Phipps, who was arrested on a variety of charges. An angry crowd assembled around the police station in response to his arrest. What was significant about this incident, Meeks tells us, is the "decision of the police to call on their prisoner to help defuse the riotous crowd" (p. 2). The event points to the vulnerability of the Jamaican state, despite its monopoly over the apparatuses of power.

Meeks then offers a careful examination of the implication of two lesser-known rebellions in the region, the Henry Rebellion in Jamaica, and that of the National United Freedom Fighters (NUFF) of Trinidad. The Henry Rebellion occurred in Jamaica in 1960. It was the brainchild of Claudius Henry, an independent, black nationalist leader who embraced a philosophy of African repatriation, and his son Ronald Henry. The objective of this rebellion was to seize the Jamaican government in order to secure a return to Africa. If this failed, the alternative was to move to Cuba, where radical ideas were welcome. The operation seemed to lack organization and was consequently unsuccessful. However, given its objective, and the heavily armed nature of the rebels, Meeks concludes that the Henry Rebellion "represented one of the most significant threats to the Jamaican state in the postwar era" (p. 26). Going beyond adventurism, Meeks sees the Henry rebellion as an early, if poorly executed, example of a long history of working-class radicalism.

By contrast, NUFF represented a sustained attempt at radical transformation. Its members established a guerrilla movement which lasted from May 1972 until October 1973, launching a series of attacks on the Trinidad state. Meeks reflects: "few recall that, in the early seventies, guerrillas sought to overthrow the state and transform Trinidad and Tobago in the interest,

purportedly, of the poor and dispossessed" (p. 56). Though both these attempts failed, Meeks argues that NUFF's efforts had the greater potential for success.

Meeks next turns to bridging the gap between the arts and the social sciences in his effort to understand the region better. Here he engages in an interesting discourse on the literary texts of Earl Lovelace's *The Dragon Can't Dance* and Michael Thelwell's *The Harder They Come*. This chapter, interesting in its approach, departs from earlier discourses about the collective expression of resistance and moves to the level of the individual, as seen in the initiatives of Aldrick, Fisheye, and Ivan. This shift raises some methodological questions about the appropriate unit of analysis for assessing radical transformation.

The next two chapters are biographical essays on Carl Stone and Michael Manley. Here again, methodologically, one is not sure how resistance is being operationalized. We are told that Stone's work had a higher purpose, that is, the creation of a new democratic, political order. Meeks writes: "Stone saw himself as an independent tribune of the people, a one-man counter-hegemonic force, single-handedly forging a new civic culture through his polls, columns and more academic interventions" (p. 102). It would have been useful to explain how working-class Jamaicans viewed Stone and his work and whether they too interpreted his efforts along the lines suggested by Meeks. The remembrance of Michael Manley is a pretty straightforward biographical piece. It would have been helpful in exploring the landscape of resistance for Meeks to explain Manley's contribution to resistance even though he was "for the people, but never quite 'of' the people" (p. 120). Perhaps such an explanation would explain different forms of resistance, whether institutionalized, community-based, or sporadic and spontaneous, and the ways in which these are linked theoretically and methodologically.

Meeks then returns to an analysis of the Jamaican body politic, using the chaos and bloodshed on the streets as a metaphor for the state of crisis and instability in the wider society. This thoughtful chapter provides a brief but useful history of the Jamaican public transportation system and explains the anarchy of free market deregulation of the transport system which leads to "the rule of barbarism on the roads" (p. 140). Resistance lurks here as well. He reads the chaos and incivility on the roads as instruments of protest against an upper-class world. Jamaica "is careening on the edge of an abyss. There is gridlock on the roads, in the economy, in the political sphere and in the hearts of men and women" (p. 149).

Meeks reserves his last reflections for the fate of the Caribbean Left. He notes that despite the organizational collapse of the Left in the region, much of its political critique remains relevant today. Yet he argues that the Left "has been decisively defeated" (p. 164). He lays the blame for the Left's demise on its adherence to a dogmatic inflexibility and concludes that

“[t]he Caribbean, in the twilight of the twentieth century, cries out for a new, invigorated popular movement” (p. 173).

Perhaps Meeks needed to do more to disabuse readers of the idea that all opposition automatically becomes political resistance. Also insufficiently addressed in this book are the ways in which bourgeois, and sometime progressive, forces in myriad ways mediate, derail, or otherwise co-opt popular resistance for their own ends. Nevertheless, *Narratives of Resistance* is a readable and thought-provoking text, which should be studied by all serious students of Caribbean society.

*Law, Justice, and Empire: The Colonial Career of John Gorrie, 1829-1892.*  
BRIDGET BRERETON. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 1997. xx  
+ 371 pp. (Paper J\$ 900.00, US\$ 25.00)

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Under the editorship of the late Douglas Hall, the University of the West Indies Press Biography Series was established in 1997 to address “the need to record the lives and achievements [both] of people of the Caribbean ... and of expatriates who have lived and worked long and hard with us to our mutual advantage,” by focusing not only on the famous, but also on “the many individuals who by stern and skillful performance in the fields, the workshops, the market-places, and in the service of their compatriots have contributed much but remain unrecognized” (p. i). The series began auspiciously with what a 1999 *NWIG* notice considered an “insightful biography” (p. 109), entitled *A Man Divided* (1997), written by Hall himself about the Jamaican poet and anthropologist, Michael Garfield Smith; this second volume is a superb study of the life of the distinguished jurist, John Gorrie, authored by Bridget Brereton, a Professor of History at the St. Augustine campus of the University of the West Indies in Trinidad and Tobago.

Brereton crisply narrates Gorrie’s Scottish background and early life in the first chapter, by the end of which she has the politically active young lawyer living in London, involved with the Cobden/Bright wing of British Liberalism, and, after a failed parliamentary campaign in 1868, seeking a post in the colonial judiciary. She traces Gorrie’s interest in colonial affairs

back to the eleven weeks he spent in Jamaica in early 1866 as legal counsel to a committee formed at the behest of the liberal/radical wing of British politics to participate in an inquiry into the draconian actions undertaken by colonial authorities following the Morant Bay Rebellion. In Chapter 2, Brereton succinctly analyzes this rebellion, its causes, and its aftermath, and demonstrates convincingly that the inequities endemic to the British colonial system, which the rebellion and ensuing inquest brought to light, politicized Gorrie and shaped the course of his singular career in the colonial judiciary, whose distinction would earn him a knighthood in 1881, and whose five separate phases Brereton chronicles over the next seven chapters.

In Mauritius, Fiji, and the Western Pacific, as well as in his subsequent West Indian postings to the Leeward Islands and Trinidad and Tobago, Gorrie consistently pursued an activist judicial agenda predicated on an unequivocal commitment to legal equality which nevertheless extended special considerations, protections, and compensations to colonial subjects victimized by racial, ethnic, or status-based discrimination. Brereton portrays Gorrie in all his complexity: a crusading judge who used the bench to promote his populist political agenda and an irascible and intemperate personality who polarized his colonial constituencies, becoming a folk hero for the masses and anathema to the elites, the enormously popular "ah we Judge" whom entrenched colonial special interests ultimately bested.

Although Gorrie met what one contemporary characterized as "a melancholy end" (p. 314), dying shortly after his return to England and before he could vindicate his reputation from partisan charges of judicial misconduct, this compelling biography suggests that history absolves him. He fiercely championed the principles of judicial egalitarianism and social justice, as well as the land and labor policies favorable to the lower classes rather than the plantocracy that would shape the agenda for the subsequent century (and counting!) of popular colonial and postcolonial struggle.

*Law, Justice and Empire* is an exemplar of the biographer's craft. It is a learned work, the fruit of prodigious research and a wide range of source materials allied to the author's subtle understanding of the complexities and variants in a British colonial system upon which, at Gorrie's time, the sun never set. Brereton has crafted an eminently readable account that balances well the particulars of her subject's life and career with the broader colonial context in which he operated. A series of useful maps complements the text, and the accompanying scholarly apparatus of endnotes, bibliography, and index is impeccable. The University of the West Indies Press too should be credited not only for publishing this book so handsomely, but also for undertaking such an ambitious and important biography series whose success and stature will be assured if subsequent studies can even approximate the caliber of the work under review and that of Hall's inaugural volume.

*White Rebel: The Life and Times of T.T. Lewis.* GARY LEWIS. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 1999. xxvii + 214 pp. (Paper J\$ 1050.00, US\$ 27.00)

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*White Rebel* has made a timely appearance at this juncture in the social history of Barbados. It is the biography of a white Barbadian, T.T. Lewis, and his role in the struggle for social justice and equality for the island's predominantly black working class during the 1940s and 1950s.

Race is a contentious Barbadian issue that surfaces from time to time from the depths of a mutually agreed upon repression. Certainly, in no other English-speaking West Indian island, with the exception of Trinidad, is the nature of the discussion so intense, with considerable amounts of intellectual and emotional energy invested in the debate. In Trinidad, the racial divide is intense because the population of East Indian descent is marginally larger than the Afro-Trinidadian population. The issue there is political control of the country. In Barbados, race pits blacks against whites. To the outsider, this may seem surprising, given the demographic realities of the island. After all, only 5 percent of the population is white (or "whitish," to quote a local columnist). Is this indicative of a shared common neurosis by the majority of the population?

Given our history of slavery and exploitation, race has been, and continues to be, an important variable in any analysis of Barbadian society. It is unfortunate that much of the discussion is heated by emotion, stereotyping, and misinformation. The appearance of *White Rebel* in this context makes a positive contribution, by making accessible new or restricted information.

The author, Gary Lewis, great-nephew of T.T. Lewis, treats the material with sensitivity and remarkable candor, given their relationship. It is evident that he admires the man but does not allow that to cloud his judgment.

The opening chapters offer insight into Lewis's family background and the general structure of Barbadian society in the period 1920 to 1940. One area to which our attention is drawn is the stratified nature of white Barbadian society. As the author himself points out, "[d]espite what appears to be a commonplace view to the contrary, white society in the early part of this century was profoundly fragmented, dividing itself roughly into four segments" (p. 9). Even though whites were a minority, one distinguishing feature of Barbados, compared to other English-speaking West Indian

islands, is that its population has always included a larger percentage of native whites. The elites of this white group were thus able to hold on to power, in ways that their counterparts in the other islands failed to do after emancipation, particularly with the imposition of Crown colony government, a fate avoided by Barbados. This fact, more than any other, explains the frequency with which race surfaces as a real or imagined issue in Barbados. After all, as the Brazilian historian Emilia Viotti da Costa points out, most times, when people talk about race, it is really power that they are discussing. The labor riots of 1937 provided the catalyst for change and created a more inclusive franchise, which allowed blacks for the first time to effectively challenge the entrenched political power of the white elites.

T.T. Lewis was not a member of the traditional Barbadian white elite. In this respect, he was seen by them as an upstart who had chosen to cast his lot with the blacks. As Gary Lewis shows, he was made to pay dearly for this choice, losing his job, being ostracized, and ultimately losing his family through the stress engendered by his political choices. The fact that he went to an early grave is almost certainly related to his life experiences.

A wide variety of sources was used in this book, many of them articles or publications with restricted circulation, and some not available outside of Barbados. One weakness was the author's failure to use material in British repositories, especially outgoing despatches from various governors. On the other hand, one of its greatest strengths is the effective and frequent use of eyewitness testimony from a surprisingly large number of informants, who cover the socioeconomic and racial spectrum of Barbados. These eyewitness accounts give a level of authenticity and depth of feeling which tends to be absent when only written or official sources are used. Complementing this use of oral history is the inclusion of pictorial evidence. The 104 photographs are a welcome addition for the reader, although it is a pity that greater care was not taken in scanning them.

Although the book maintains a focus on T.T. Lewis, it transcends the function of a biography, and constitutes a good political history in its own right, covering that crucial period in mid-twentieth-century Barbadian politics when political power in the island passed from the hands of the white minority to the black majority. This period saw the rise of Grantley Adams to political preeminence. Gary Lewis examines the relationship between Adams and Lewis, which eventually soured and led to the effective expulsion of Lewis from Barbadian politics. The book also carefully documents the emergence and growth of political parties in the island and describes the circumstances which led to the domination of two parties, the Barbados Labour Party and the Barbados Democratic Party.

Intertwined with these political changes, the vibrant but tragic life of T.T. Lewis emerges, sometimes as a catalyst for change, sometimes as a victim, out of his time and place and destined by the "caste of his skin" to be

discarded and almost forgotten, were it not for this remarkably well-written and timely work by his great-nephew.

*Mission or Submission? Moravian and Catholic Missionaries in the Dutch Caribbean During the Nineteenth Century.* ARMANDO LAMPE. Göttingen, FRG: Vandenburg & Ruprecht, 2001. 244 pp. (Paper DM 84.00)

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Despite the richness of mission sources and the important contribution Christianity, literacy, and Church organization made to the political and social formation of slave societies, the history of missionary development in the Caribbean is relatively underresearched. This brief monograph, translated from the Dutch, in limited ways extends this frontier in particular for Anglophone readers. The core chapters outline Moravian and Catholic mission history in two sharply contrasting territories: large-scale-plantation Suriname and trading-station Curaçao before Dutch abolition (1863), focusing primarily on mission organization, policy conflicts, and historiographical reassessments of leading missionary figures.

Moravian development in Suriname fits in many respects into the pattern established elsewhere in the region. Missionaries arrived as they did in the British and Danish colonies in the mid-eighteenth century, and by 1848, according to one missionary estimate (p. 91), their influence embraced two-thirds of the slave population. This success, however, reflected in part a significant shift in planter and colonial state perceptions of mission work: initially missionaries were feared as subverting the slave labor system and were prevented from teaching on the plantations. They were subsequently perceived as supporting it.

This shift, in various combinations, was a regionwide phenomenon, pioneered in the British islands by imperial support for religious toleration and abolitionist influence in parliament and the country. It took place in Suriname primarily in response to abolition in neighboring British Guiana (1838). The planters reached for new forms of social control and allowed the Moravians to give slaves religious instruction on their plantations. But it was not until 1848 when French abolition prompted Dutch slaves to claim their



freedom in St. Maarten (where they succeeded) and in St. Eustatius (where they did not) that the Dutch and colonial governments extended this remit to include regular schools for slave children – a feature of mission work for all denominations in Jamaica, for example, by the 1820s. Lampe's account certainly underscores the extent to which the absence of popular antislavery forces in Holland actively assisted the prolongation of the Dutch slave labor system.

While the Dutch permitted Moravian mission enterprise to spread to Suriname, in Curaçao (taken over from the Spanish in 1634) it inherited Catholic churches popularly based among Indians, blacks, and coloreds and served by Catholic priests, variously recruited together with the characteristic Caribbean underlay of African-derived syncretic sects. To serve the white elites, the Dutch Reformed Church and Jewish synagogues were juxtaposed with this popular base, creating religious apartheid. Catholic priests rapidly emerged as mediators between its popular constituency and the elite, on the one hand securing papal sanction to validate slave marriages and on the other attempting to negotiate peace deals at moments of slave rebellion, most notably in 1795 when the slaves attempted a Haitian-style revolution.

The Catholic mission as such was introduced on papal initiative early in the nineteenth century. A mission director sent to Curaçao in 1824 expanded church membership, built new churches, founded a school system serving 1,000 students, published the first books in Papiamentu, and organized charities. Up to a point Catholic – like Moravian – expansion reflected local reaction to French abolition and its Caribbean impact, which made religious education of the slaves, interpreted as teaching obedience, a priority for the Curaçao elite. By 1860 the Catholic Church was one of the most powerful institutions in the island, and while it officially excluded “popular” religious forms, it could invoke support for its policies from a constituency beyond its own converts.

The Catholic missionaries in Curaçao, like the Moravians in Suriname, complemented the power of the colonial state, but in Lampe's account were more assertive and enterprising in dealing with it, a measure of the difference between a mission dependent on voluntary donations and one representing the resources of a well-endowed global Church.

These narrative elements are embedded in work which quite lacks any rational overall structure. It might have been strengthened, and the author certainly saved from outright errors of information (e.g., the Moravians' neutral policy on slavery here claimed as unique was common to all Protestant missions), had the Anglophone sources cited in the bibliography been used to establish a regional context or, even, been carefully read. And Lampe's top-down approach is outdated in-itself. There is no information here about what the missionaries taught or what the slaves believed, except for a few pages (pp. 115-21) derived from secondary sources on “Popular Catholicism”

– which valuably links popular religious forms in Curaçao, Suriname, and Jamaica, but also highlights how much the top-down method misses.

This does not deter Lampe, however, from imposing notionally on this limited substructure the grand old question: did the missionaries teach obedience or rebellion? In the circumstances he can only take a dogmatic stance and affirm what the missionaries themselves believed: that they taught obedience and the slaves learned it, curiously exempting only the British Methodists. The Methodists, however, were no more associated with the 1831 Jamaica rebellion, for example, than were the Baptist missionaries the planters blamed for it. The formula itself begs the question: is rebellion generated by ideological convictions or sanctioned by them? So some explanation is needed for the absence of slave rebellion in nineteenth-century Suriname other than the success, as Lampe sees it, of Moravian teaching.

*Caribbean Charisma: Reflections on Leadership, Legitimacy and Populist Politics.* ANTON L. ALLAHAR (ed.). Kingston: Ian Randle; Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001. xvi + 264 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.95)

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The eight authors of the essays in this book reflect on the ways that the concept “charisma” may illuminate some of the political leaders and populist practices in parts of the Caribbean since about 1950. First, Anton Allahar considers some theoretical aspects of the relations between charisma, leadership, and politics, beginning with Max Weber’s sociological insights. In the other chapters Hilbourne A. Watson writes about Errol Barrow in Barbados; Pedro A. Noguera compares Grenada’s Eric Gairy and Maurice Bishop; Linden Lewis and Percy C. Hintzen write, respectively, about Guyana’s Forbes Burnham and Cheddi Jagan; Patricia Mohammed focuses on Eric Williams of Trinidad and Tobago; Brian Meeks writes on Jamaica’s Michael Manley; and Nelson P. Valdés, in the only essay that looks beyond the English-speaking Caribbean, examines Cuba’s Fidel Castro.

Some people hesitate to use the concept charisma in relation to Caribbean politicians lest, because of its origins, it be considered too Eurocentric and hence irrelevant. However, this concern seems misplaced because charisma,

as it was conceived by Weber, is not a description or a theory but an "ideal type," which is an abstraction created for use in the analyses of particular cases. In other words, it should not be thought of as a description or model of reality but as an interpretive tool that may be used to assess and compare particular examples in terms of whether they are more or less like the abstraction. Weber's three ideal types of authority – traditional, legal-rational, and charismatic – are simply more or less useful in helping us to distinguish, assess, and compare kinds of leadership and legitimacy. In fact, these essays do show how Weber's insights may be used to interpret Caribbean politics.

To their credit, all these authors, with different degrees of emphasis, examine the social and economic context of Caribbean societies that has given rise to a political culture in which charismatic authorities are quite common. Moreover, they focus on the specifics of each case, and show that charismatic authority may coexist with a variety of personal styles, political ideologies, and systems of government. For example, when Bishop succeeded Gairy in Grenada, and Burnham succeeded Jagan in Guyana, there was a sharp contrast in their respective ideologies and ways of governing, yet all these men were, to a greater or lesser degree, charismatic leaders. The authors emphasize that they are not looking at charisma in the way the word is commonly used, meaning simply the kind of attractive personality or set of appealing traits associated with stars in show business. Rather, they are analyzing a kind of authority and legitimacy, so they focus on the relations between a leader and his followers, including the reasons why most political leaders are men. In short, while they examine each leader's political skills and the structural conditions in which they emerged, they do not lose sight of the way that a charismatic leader is invested with authority by his followers because they believe him to possess extraordinary, and sometimes supernatural, qualities. As Allahar says, researchers need to keep in mind "the dialectical relationship between charismatic leaders and their followers" (p. 2).

The authors draw attention to the fact that people look for charismatic leaders in times of crisis, when other kinds of authority no longer work, and when they hope for the radical changes that these leaders promise. Charisma, although believed to be a personal quality of the leader by his followers, may be deliberately manufactured or enhanced during the leader's rise to power. Charismatic authority is fragile because the structures of Caribbean economies and societies severely constrain the capacity of political leaders to satisfy their followers' hopes, whether these are in terms of material goods, individual opportunities, or social justice. In examining the routinization of charisma the authors evaluate not only such personal aspects as the leader's courage and oratorical skill but also his ability to deliver the goods, without which his aura and the loyalty of his followers may quickly evaporate. Times of crisis, whether caused by colonial rule or by structural adjustment, provide the conditions for the rise of charismatic leaders but they also test their ability

to stay in power. Charismatic authority, once achieved, may be sustained by liberal democratic processes, but in some cases populist appeals are bolstered by authoritarian methods. In Caribbean societies, politics is highly personalized, and leaders are often characterized paternalistically and even revered as saviors: Eric Williams and Cheddi Jagan were said to be “fathers” of their nations and Haiti’s François Duvalier, who is not studied in this book, was called “Papa Doc,” while Michael Manley was known as “Joshua,” after the ancient Israelite who led his people into the promised land. Valdés, in a stimulating essay, argues that Castro’s transformation into a *charismatic* revolutionary leader occurred after he came to power and is based on the deeply-rooted religiosity of Afro-Cuban culture. Further, he explains the struggle between Castro and Miami Cubans over Elián González in 2000 in terms of this religious culture as well as political opportunism. In Weber’s words, Fidel and Elián became “set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities” (p. 213).

These well-written and thoughtful essays should provoke further, and more comparative, research into the political culture and organizations of the Caribbean.

*Faking It: U.S. Hegemony in a “Post-Phallic” Era.* CYNTHIA WEBER. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999. xvi + 151 pp. (Paper US\$ 14.95)

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This entertaining book provides an account of U.S. policy in the Caribbean from the Eisenhower administration through Clinton’s. Cynthia Weber, a political scientist who is clearly pushing the boundaries of her discipline, brings to light the psychoanalytically suggestive pieces of the archival record rather than offering a strict chronicle. She argues that the United States suffered a sort of castration when it “lost” Cuba, that it has been trying to compensate for this loss ever since, and that its efforts to remasculinize ultimately demonstrate its original lack of phallic power, a lack it has to exclude in order for it to remain hegemonic (p. 8). The Caribbean – especially Cuba, but also other places to

the extent that they represent repetitions of the United States' Cuban ventures – serves as a constant reminder of the United States' excluded lack, as a mirror through which it sees itself, and a screen on which its insecurities about its own hegemony are projected. Weber cleverly mixes psychoanalytic discourse, wordplay, and insights from feminist and queer theory. At first, some of the more heavily affected prose irritated me. Yet on reflection, the excesses in this text are nothing compared to those of the U.S. political and military class whose words and actions are being examined.

The argument is organized around Roland Barthes's reading of Honoré de Balzac's short story, "Sarrasine." In that story, Sarrasine courts La Zambinella, declaring her an "ideal beauty," a "masterpiece" who is "more than a woman" and by whom he must "be loved [or] die!" (quoted on p. 15). Sarrasine learns that La Zambinella is in fact a man, and is horrified that she/he, by "stamp[ing] all other women with a seal of imperfection," will always come to his mind whenever he thinks of a "real" woman (pp. 16, 17). He therefore tries to kill her, but fails, and is instead killed himself. Barthes's approach to Balzac's text emphasizes its "writerly" aspects, that is, its connotative and intertextual elements rather than its denotative and literal referents. Approaching the text in this way invites a pluralization of meaning. Weber uses Barthes to understand the disruptions Castro's Cuba presented to the cold-war codes of American dominance (Chapter 2). And "Sarrasine" is a fine intertext to the official Cuba story. Like La Zambinella, whose dissimulation and lack horrify and symbolically castrate Sarrasine, Cuba appears in U.S. post-Spanish-American War discourse as symbolically feminine. In 1959, it is masculinized by a castrating Castro, with the result that Cuba becomes "mixed, untotalizable space" that is neither solely feminine nor solely masculine (p. 21) – a space that threatens the United States' own integrated (masculinist) wholeness. As Weber remarks, "the United States comes to terms with this by giving up on its desire to have Cuba, all the while ensuring that no one else may have 'her' either" (p. 27). Weber analyzes Eisenhower's various overtures toward and rejections of Castro, and then provides a psychoanalytic reading of the Bay of Pigs invasion and the missile crisis under Kennedy. Both are failures at "rephallusization," since, while Cuba remained without rockets, it also remained outside the U.S. sphere. Cuba showed the lie of the United States' unadulterated masculine hegemony and instead revealed the United States to be a "body in pieces" (p. 32) that could never see itself, its power, reflected in the Caribbean, as much as it might try. "The U.S. 'post-phallic' era had begun" (p. 32).

Weber's reading might seem a bit over the top. Set against the hilarious material she brings together from Johnson's invasion of the Dominican Republic (Chapter 3), Reagan's "B movie" invasion of Grenada (Chapter 4), Bush's "wimp factor" invasion of Panama (Chapter 5) and Clinton's adventures in Haiti (Chapter 5), the analysis becomes more convincing. It is

easy to forget about the gendered and sexualized rhetoric surrounding each of these affairs – and I am tempted, as a reviewer, to want to reproduce some of it here. I leave the surprises, and sad reminders, to the book's readers. When such rhetoric is gathered together and presented sequentially, as if the story were about continually faltering U.S. efforts to maintain an insecure, indeed, impossible masculine identity rather than the pursuit of cold-war and post-cold-war-U.S. *realpolitik*, Weber's analysis becomes quite compelling.

One does not have to read between the lines to realize that the Caribbean exploits Weber discusses here exist in the same political-discursive space as the United States' latest military ventures. Written before September 11, 2001, her book contains chilling reminders that U.S. Caribbean policy has always been linked to its other global ambitions. She quotes Reagan, who sought carefully to differentiate his invasion of Grenada from the contemporaneous Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (p. 76). The hidden subtext was the U.S. support of the mujaheddin. Current efforts to distance itself from its former friends has produced the same masculinist disavowal of its impure past and its lack of total control. Given that this is happening under a second George Bush, and at great cost of human life and liberty, I imagine Weber would see a repetition compulsion, a hysteria that is manifested the second time as tragedy *and* farce. If direct contestation of war rhetoric seems impossible in the United States today, perhaps we would do well to heed the lesson of this book, aptly summed up in its epigraph, a quotation from the feminist theorist Elizabeth Grosz: "the best strategy for challenging the phallic authority of the penis is laughter." As it was during the long twentieth century, the laughter would be a loud and horrified howl.

*Foreign in a Domestic Sense: Puerto Rico, American Expansion, and the Constitution.* CHRISTINA DUFFY BURNETT & BURKE MARSHALL (eds.). Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2001. xv + 422 pp. (Paper US\$ 23.95)

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In *Foreign in a Domestic Sense* sixteen contributors, including renowned legal scholars, discuss the juridico-political implications of the U.S. Supreme Courts' "Insular Cases" (1901-5). The editors expressly deploy this

collection to “lure American legal scholars back to the unresolved problem of territorial status in the United States” by “reminding them (and asking them to remind others) that” what one 1898 headline called “the question of the hour” has since – and up to the present day – become “the question of the century, and none the less urgent for it” (p. xiii).

After a richly annotated and explanatory introduction, the first group of chapters attempt to lay a historical context for the larger constitutional and political ramifications of U.S. colonialism and neocolonialism at the end of the nineteenth century. The second section zeroes in on some of the constitutional questions raised by the Insular Cases during the early twentieth century, such as their relationship to previous Court decisions elucidating citizenship, racial differentiation, the emergence of a centralized state, and individual rights. That is followed by a third cluster of chapters primarily devoted to the political legacy of these cases within the context of late twentieth-century partisan debates in Puerto Rico over the future status of the island. The anthology’s final segment expands the previous section’s discussion by analyzing the language question versus national identity (not just Puerto Rico’s, but also that of the United States), as well as, again, notions of citizenship and the development of a central state in the United States.

*Foreign in a Domestic Sense* does assemble a wealth of bibliographical documentation and commentary on the Insular Cases and on the broader juridical literature surrounding them. Yet despite its explicit aims, the collection does not tackle the Insular Cases in the broader context of certain present-day controversies within law and politics, clearly relevant to the content of this anthology. In this regard, there are additional and no-less urgent “questions of the hour” (historical-past and historical-present) that directly or indirectly impact most Puerto Ricans. Such is the case of racially skewed sentencing legislation and incarceration practices (African Americans and Latinos/Latinas), dual citizenship (U.S. Mexicans), foreign voting rights (U.S. Dominicans), welfare rights for undocumented immigrants and their families (California in the 1990s), etc. A conspicuous case in point, regarding germane schools of thought, is Critical Legal Studies, particularly its overlap with scholarship on Critical Race Theory (Williams 1991; Delgado 1995; Goldberg, Musheno & Bower 2001). Stanford Levinson (p. 123), Angel Ricardo Oquendo (p. 394), and Juan F. Perea (p. 165) do include passing references to the work of Derrick Bell, Richard Delgado, and Ian Haney-López, while Mark S. Weiner (p. 48) mentions Cultural Studies of Law. However, it is peculiar for a collection critically evaluating U.S. legal trends during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – e.g., Anglo-Saxon interpretations of constitutional rights in chapters by Weiner, Thomas, Rivera Ramos, Levinson, Perea, Statham, Neuman, Aponte Toro, and Oquendo – not to engage directly and fully this other, far more prominent late twentieth-century U.S. legal trend.

Many of the chapters in the first two sections of *Foreign in a Domestic Sense* are the closest the book comes, at least, to addressing one issue figuring prominently within Critical Legal Studies and Critical Race Theory: namely, revisionist constitutional histories. Yet even such attempts are limited by a related problem – one particularly thorny and sensitive to those of us coming to this collection from the historical social sciences. I am referring to the way in which the book's authors understand "colonialism." The term appears here in its conventionally and formally juridico-political, territory-predicated, and reified meaning of an overseas country-polity being rendered utterly powerless (in a zero-sum fashion) by an external government. (One alternative would have been to examine colonialism as a historically-specific social relation of power, defined and embodied by the asymmetrically positioned populations – colonizers and colonized – bound within this relationship and its corresponding spaces.) The former usage limits the contributors and the editors in this anthology in at least two ways.

First, by reducing the conflicting application of constitutional rights to the restricted *formal-political* liberties of the Island's inhabitants, the collection misses an opportunity to directly consider the *socioeconomic* and *sociospatial* dimensions of constitutional rights under colonialism. Missing this opportunity becomes even more awkward given that these are the very dimensions so closely tied to the notions of "social citizenship" originally argued by T.H. Marshall and so central to today's research and debates on citizenship, migration, nationality, and human rights within the context of globalization (e.g., Castles & Davidson 2000). It is no small irony that a juridico-political-focused anthology like this one should overlook the implications of the most successful mass political parties in Puerto Rico's history – the Partido Socialista (during 1915-32), the Partido Popular Democrático (1940-67), and the Partido Nuevo Progresista (1968-72, 1976-80) – having risen to prominence precisely by appealing to popular demands to focus on this island's social inequalities rather than on its formal juridico-political condition.

Secondly, adopting this conventional notion of colonialism constrains the anthology's authors to continually reduce what they mean by "Puerto Ricans" to *only those in the island*, notwithstanding the Puerto Ricans already living in New York City when the Insular Cases were being decided. A century later the number of Puerto Ricans in the United States is now practically equal to those living in Puerto Rico, while over 44 percent of those in the Island have lived in the U.S. mainland at some point. Given the continuing deprivations and unequal rights among disproportionately high numbers of Puerto Ricans in the United States during the 1980s and 1990s (Canabal 1997; Villaruel *et al.* 2002), it is difficult to understand why this anthology confined its discussion of related issues exclusively to Puerto Rico – especially when the island's inhabitants were being compared (within the Insular Cases and



by this anthology's authors) to other racially subordinate nationalities under U.S. rule (e.g., pp. 59-60, 106-9, 126-32, 140-66).

Despite its appeals to historical context and history (e.g., pp. 16, 30, 39), the anthology is insufficiently historical in its lack of suitable conceptual and historical breadth, given its understanding of colonialism. Yet it simultaneously manages to remain too narrowly historical (i.e., partly out of touch with contemporary transformations) by not fully taking into account the current critical conceptual trends within legal studies and its social-science periphery, nor the current social reality of Puerto Ricans in the United States.

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*The Legal Construction of Identity: The Judicial and Social Legacy of American Colonialism in Puerto Rico.* EFRÉN RIVERA RAMOS. Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 2000. 275 pp. (Cloth US\$ 49.95)

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The moral and political controversies surrounding the American acquisition of Puerto Rico and the Philippines during the Spanish-American War were rapidly submitted to U.S. courts, where the American colonial project was represented, somewhat limited, and ultimately justified in the terms of the prevailing legal discourse. In *The Legal Construction of Identity*, Efrén Rivera Ramos examines how, in a series of decisions that came to be known as the Insular Cases, the U.S. Supreme Court developed a legal doctrine which helped legitimize the colonial venture. In Rivera's perspective, the salient force of law resides in its capacity to authoritatively name and categorize the elements in power relationships, providing a conceptual framework or cognitive code through which social relationships are understood. Rivera examines the legal power of naming the colonial through an incisive dissection of the discursive strategies employed in the Insular Cases. The Court signified the subjective difference, the racial otherness, in the objective language of geography by creating a new constitutional category, the *unincorporated territory*. This legal fiction made plausible an interpretation of the constitution providing Congress plenary powers in the new territories and justifying limitations in the political rights of their inhabitants. Thus, in reproducing legal discourse, the justices' notions of history, progress, race, and society circulated with their conceptions of law and theories of interpretation. The legal system was capable of producing an authorized interpretation of social reality that made imperial power relationships appear legal and natural: the Insular Cases legitimized the colonial project, constituted colonial subjects with limited political rights, and created a discursive universe which contextualized further discussion and political action.

This bright analysis of the Insular Cases tends to focus on the hegemonic processes in the metropolitan society: it shows how, through the reproduction of legal discourse by the Supreme Court, a common sense of the colonial venture was adopted by sectors of the U.S. society which originally had divergent views. It is not as clear how the Court's reification

of Puerto Ricans as inhabitants of an unincorporated territory helped make possible their acceptance of colonial subordination. One of the difficulties in tracking the hegemonic effects of the Court's rulings in the island may come from a tendency to portray a legal system under the firm command of the metropolitan state and intent on masking an already established colonial relationship. On the one hand, this perspective robs the process of dynamism and fluidity; on the other, it eschews the notion of legal autonomy whereby legal discourse is reproduced in a juridical field which has considerable independence from the state. The Insular Cases were, after all, filed by Puerto Ricans and Filipinos, and their attorneys, who pressed their own views and interpretations of the law and, despite their diminished influence, were able to score some points: while the Court justified the denial of political rights, it recognized the applicability of fundamental personal rights (whose significance must be ascertained in the context of nineteenth-century Spanish rule) and many economic rights, including the right to enter the U.S. mainland (the legal basis of a reverse colonization by more than 2 million Puerto Rican immigrants). The focus on the political may be justified by the ongoing democracy deficit in the island, but it blurs out elements necessary to understand hegemony through law in twentieth-century Puerto Rico.

Part 2 of the book analyzes the production of hegemony through a 1917 legislative act, Congress's *imposition* of American citizenship on Puerto Ricans during the strategic meanderings of World War I. Citizenship, for Rivera, constituted a symbolic act of violence: an attempt to create an identity from the vantage point of power, intended to cement the loyalties of the locals. However, the attempt was resisted and negotiated on the terrain of ordinary practice, and while most colonials treasure their U.S. citizenship, they still perceive themselves in terms of *puertorriqueñidad*. Moreover, while citizenship facilitated metropolitan demands for loyalty and military service, it also fueled demands for welfare and migration rights and renewed cries for political equality (despite the holding of the last Insular Case that, by granting citizenship, Congress did not intend to incorporate the territory of Puerto Rico, meaning continued limitations to the political rights of its inhabitants). Rivera concludes that while the symbolic and concrete effects of citizenship were indeterminate and negotiated, with unintended consequences and significant limits on the metropolitan state, citizenship was in a very complex way important in the acceptance of colonial rule.

Rivera's critique of the legal construction of identity is penetrating but it stops at the national frontiers. His argument that the legal constitution of a Puerto Rican subject was not made by a nation that defined itself with reference to a common language, culture, and experience begs the very Gramscian question of which sectors within the colonial society had the authority to interpret its history and culture and tends to treat national identity as a given, independent from the contested processes of (legally) naming the

national. U.S. citizenship, as Rivera persuasively argues, has been a malleable construct, which helped, for instance, to provide a vocabulary to unintended welfare and immigration demands. It has also been a malleable element in the local cultural struggles to define the Puerto Rican nation. Rivera shows the way for further interrogations, such as the role of U.S. citizenship in the battles waged by local blacks, gays, or Protestants against exclusion from the national definition, and for the deconstruction of local legal texts defining a Puerto Rican nationality.

The final section of the book explores the production of hegemony through what the author calls legal consciousness: the discourse of rights, partial democracy, and rule of law. Here, the focus is on general features of Puerto Rico's legal and political system. Again, the strongest elements are theoretical, in particular an analysis of the coercive and persuasive dimensions of law, and a critique of the rights discourse. Despite the undemocratic aspects of the colonial relationship, large segments of the population have come to identify the rule of law with the American system, contributing to the acceptance of the colonial rule but also fueling demands on the metropolitan state.

In exploring the relationships between law and American colonialism in Puerto Rico, Rivera has shown why the Sociology of the Law has become one of the most productive fields of social inquiry today. He provides profound insights into the workings of colonial relationships and into the island's political history. As I read about the informal appropriations of U.S. laws and citizenship, I anticipated the conclusion that the status question, while important, should cease to overwhelm Puerto Rican studies. But the book concludes with a denunciation of Congress's formal plenary powers to legislate, pleading for a status solution which, considering the complexities of the case, will require great legal creativity.

*Winds of Change: Hurricanes and the Transformation of Nineteenth-Century Cuba.* LOUIS A. PÉREZ, JR. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. x + 199 pp. (Paper US\$ 17.95)

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This engaging and entertaining book, the latest from historian Louis Pérez, explores the impact that hurricanes have had in shaping the course of Cuban history. Despite the devastation they so frequently inflict on the Caribbean, hurricanes have elicited relatively little attention from historians of the region. Pérez places these storms, especially three particularly calamitous ones that hit western Cuba in 1842, 1844, and 1846, at the center of his narrative about economic, political, and social change in nineteenth-century Cuba. A wide range of eyewitness accounts – including letters, travel narratives, newspaper articles, and government reports – along with census data, agricultural records, works of fiction, and other sources enable Pérez to paint a vivid picture of the ruin wrought by these natural disasters. The hurricanes at mid-century, he argues, altered the Cuban economy as well as relationships between social classes, led toward the breakdown of Spanish colonial rule, and, ultimately, contributed to the forging of a shared sense of national identity among all Cubans.

Throughout the course of this short monograph, readers are reminded in dramatic detail of the material destruction and human suffering produced by the force of the Atlantic hurricane. The first chapter recounts the experiences of European settlers – British as well as Spanish – in the Caribbean with these natural disasters before the nineteenth century. Gale-force winds and pounding waves leveled buildings, wind-borne sand and sea spray ruined crops and trees, storm surges and torrential rains resulted in coastal and interior flooding, while famine and disease often followed in the wake of the hurricane. In the next chapter, Pérez briefly shifts his focus away from scenes of devastation to examine the Cuban economy in the half-century after the fall of Saint Domingue. He stresses that agricultural production expanded rapidly during this time, characterized by balanced growth in the cultivation of coffee, cotton, cacao, tobacco, and basic foodstuffs as well as sugar cane. Such diversified development, however, would not last. The hurricanes of the 1840s intervened, Pérez tells us, and in the second half of the book he

describes the immediate damage and, more importantly, the lasting effects brought about by this trio of terrible tempests.

The transformation of Cuban economy, society, and politics by these mid-century storms forms the analytical heart of *Winds of Change*. While all agriculture suffered severely from hurricane damage in the short term, the coffee sector never recovered fully, and this prompted growers to shift capital, land, and slave labor into the sugar industry. Cuba thus departed the once-promising path of diversified development and headed down the road toward dependency on sugar monoculture. Meanwhile, social tensions increased and public order was threatened as the most vulnerable groups in society – the poor and people of color in particular – suffered disproportionately from the ravages of the hurricanes. Similarly, as agricultural production patterns changed, the Cuban slave population encountered an even more ruthless and repressive labor regime on sugar plantations than had been the norm on coffee estates. In the political realm, the inability of local and peninsular administrators to effectively address the needs of the Cuban population in the aftermath of the hurricanes heightened anticolonial sentiment on the island. Even creole leaders began to turn away from Spanish colonialism and, in an effort to reconstruct the Cuban economy, increasingly turned toward the United States.

Pérez succeeds admirably in elucidating the link between environmental phenomena and broader socioeconomic and political structures and processes. In suggesting that tropical storms were often the “decisive” factor in the transformation of nineteenth-century Cuba, however, his analysis tends to downplay a host of other factors commonly attributed to the decline of the island’s coffee industry. These include falling prices on the world market, competition from other countries such as Brazil, domestic overproduction, colonial trade policy, U.S. tariff restrictions, and lack of innovation in coffee production techniques while the sugar industry benefitted from significant technological advances. The question of timing is also critical in establishing cause and effect. The existing literature generally holds that expansion of the Cuban sugar industry and concomitant decline in coffee production were already underway before the hurricanes of the 1840s made landfall in Cuba. In his classic study of coffee in Cuba (*El café: Historia de su cultivo y explotación en Cuba* [1944]), Francisco Pérez de la Riva acknowledges the negative impact of the 1844 and 1846 storms, but views them as the final death blow to an industry already in irreversible decline. Perhaps hurricanes were not the critical, decisive factor at work, but they certainly contributed to shaping the course of colonial Cuban history, as *Winds of Change* so skillfully demonstrates.

In a suggestive final chapter, Pérez reflects on how hurricanes have insinuated themselves into Cuban culture and identity over time. Relying largely on literary sources, he concludes that the shared experiences of

confronting natural disasters have helped to foster social consensus and common notions of what it means to be Cuban. Considering that – as Pérez makes clear earlier in the book – the impact of “natural” disasters is mediated by economic and political structures and some social groups suffer more than others when tropical storms touch down, one wonders if hurricanes in Cuba (and elsewhere in the Caribbean) have worked less to forge national unity than to reveal and exacerbate existing social divisions, especially along the lines of class and race. Of course, hurricanes do not target Cuba alone, and thus the connection between them and identity formation might be contemplated for the Caribbean as a whole. Given its innovative merging of environmental history with broader historical themes and its implications for the entire region, *Winds of Change* should interest all scholars of Caribbean studies. With its vivid imagery and highly readable prose, it would also be suitable for classes in Caribbean and Latin American history or geography.

*Espacios, silencios y los sentidos de la libertad: Cuba entre 1878 y 1912.*  
FERNANDO MARTÍNEZ HEREDIA, REBECCA J. SCOTT & ORLANDO F. GARCÍA  
MARTÍNEZ (eds.). Havana: Ediciones Unión, 2001. 359 pp. (Paper n.p.)

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This book, as well as the 1998 regional history workshop from which it emerged, is a major contribution to the exchange of ideas and the debate between scholars researching Cuba inside and outside the island. It consists of a collection of articles on the regional history of central Cuba during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. With its publication, the Spanish-speaking public (and certainly the Cubans) will have ready access to the work of scholars that is otherwise scattered in different journals or mostly available in the English language. This effort is one that is worth trying the other way around so that English-speaking students of Cuba become more aware of the scholarship produced by Cubans within the island.

Through a number of microhistorical studies and a regional approach, the book's overarching topics are the sociopolitical transitions of Cuba during slave emancipation, the struggle for independence, and the early republican years; race and issues of racial inclusion and exclusion; and the agency

of social actors “from below” or “without history,” as noted by Fernando Martínez Heredia in the introduction (p. 14). To assess these wider issues, and the more specific ones in each of the essays, the book is divided into four sections – “Outlining the Problems,” “The Regional Context,” “Race and Nation,” and “Comments and Comparative Views.”

“Outlining the Problems” consists of two essays, one by Rebecca Scott and the other by Carlos Venegas. Scott’s brilliantly-researched case study combines archival sources and interviews to show the determination of former slaves in asserting their rights to property and their freedom in postemancipation Cuba. Venegas’s work describes changes in the social and economic infrastructure of the island during the U.S. intervention (1898-1902). If the intent was for the book’s central problems to be outlined in this section, neither of these essays is successful. Scott partly presents the problem implicitly and only empirically through her case study, but she does not offer a conceptual and theoretical introduction to the issues discussed in the following chapters.

In “The Regional Context,” Hernán Venegas provides an elaborated and complete geographical and social analysis of central Cuba. David Sartorius’s essay then offers wonderful insight into the various means of subsistence (i.e. provision grounds) of slaves and former slaves in the *ingenio* Santa Rosalía in Cienfuegos; his study calls for a more explicit comparative examination with the studies on provision grounds and land-tenure in the non-Hispanic Caribbean. The other essays in this section – one by Fe Iglesias and another by Irán Millán and Orlando García – discuss the development of the sugar industry in Cienfuegos across the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As a whole, the essays in this section, along with that of Carlos Venegas contained in the first section, serve better as an introduction to the book by presenting the region, where most of the studies in the third part – as well as that of Scott – are centered.

“Race and Nation,” contains four remarkably well-researched case studies on the social, racial, and political struggles in Cienfuegos and Santa Clara between 1878 and 1912. Orlando García gives a detailed and well-organized account of the last war of independence in Cienfuegos. He provides excellent information on the social dynamics within the war and keeps the story at a regional level of analysis, yet without losing perspective on the wider national context of the struggle. The essay by Michael Zeuske is that of a sophisticated and methodical historian who is critical of the sources in his attempt to document the Afro-Cuban involvement in the independence struggle, and the relations of *clientelismo* between blacks and whites that emerged out of that effort. The chapters by Jorge Ibarra and Alejandra Bronfman serve as a sequel to the works of García and Zeuske. Ibarra’s essay looks at the period of the second U.S. intervention, examining the racial politics of those years (1906-9). In a good exercise of



"doing history," his analysis focuses on the particularities of the time-period under examination, rather than following the usual tendency to do it only in relation to the 1912 "race war." Bronfman examines the events of 1912 and takes on the discussion of *clientelismo* to illustrate how, in contrast with Oriente, in Cienfuegos the racial violence against black rebels coexisted with instances where racial conflict was avoided and efforts were made to protect the non-rebels (or "*negros pacíficos*"). One must note, however, that in the north of what was then Oriente Province (now Holguín), similar processes of protecting nonrebels "of color" took place,<sup>1</sup> something that calls for more locally specific studies like the one by Bronfman. (One is left to wonder, however, whether the pronouncements to protect blacks who were not involved in the revolt – also argued in the article by de la Fuente – had a real effect in the social arenas where the conflict was being solved.)

Other essays in this part focus on two black participants in the Cuban struggle for independence: one on Quintín Bandera (by Ada Ferrer) and two on Ricardo Batrell (by Martínez Heredia and Blancamar Rosabal León). While Ferrer chronicles and analyzes Bandera's career in the light of issues of racial inclusion and exclusion, linking it to wider debates, Martínez Heredia and Rosabal León provide two different assessments of Batrell's life and writings. Along with these biographical essays and the four microhistorical studies presented above, a thought-provoking article by Alejandro de la Fuente evaluates the myth of racial equality in Cuba with reference to the revolt of 1912. De la Fuente maintains that once the myths of racial democracy become hegemonic they cannot be controlled by the elites who created them. The inclusion of racially marginalized groups as part of the myths limited the political options the elites had to keep these groups in the margins. These myths, he argues, provided the space for the social ascendancy of blacks because of the lack of an explicit racial hierarchical structure (p. 241). Despite convincing evidence and argumentation, de la Fuente walks a very thin line by not confronting and/or problematizing two issues. First, the question of which were the *social, cultural, and political terms* in which the opportunities for, and roles of, black Cubans were manifested in the national polity. Secondly, where, concretely, was the limit to the political options of the elites in the massacre of thousands in 1912? If the actions of the Partido Independiente de Color and its supporters were indeed portrayed as a threat to national unity, isn't that portrayal precisely a way of controlling how the myth would be interpreted and what the position of blacks would be in the national spectrum?

In "Comments and Comparative Views," Fernando Coronil reviews the book and notes how it contributes to "peopling the history" of Latin

1. See José García, 1912. ["Proclama"], Alcaldía Municipal de Holguín, 23 May, Archivo del Museo Provincial, Holguín, Fondo-Ayuntamiento, 1912, no. 11.

America and the Caribbean with the “subaltern actors” (p. 326-27). Indeed, this collection is a welcome addition to the scholarship that for decades has been exploring the history of Caribbean marginalized groups in the colonial and postcolonial periods through different perspectives, methodologies, and disciplines (see San Miguel 2001:61-73). In his commentary, Jorge Ibarra reviews de la Fuente’s article and raises important methodological issues for future research in Cuba, such as employing a regional comparative approach in the examination of the behavior of social actors with regard to race and racist practices. He contextualizes the ascendancy of blacks in the republican years with reference to “cultural progress,” a concept that needs more problematization in light of power relations in postcolonial societies. John Coatsworth’s essay puts the Cuban case in a wider Latin American perspective, yet it follows the traditional tendency to establish comparisons of Cuba with mainland Latin American countries rather than with Hispanic Caribbean countries where comparative analysis might prove more fruitful. The book concludes with a comment by Tomás Fernández Robaina on how the regional history workshop – where the articles were originally presented – served as a space for the exchange of ideas. However, given the issues discussed in this collection, one would have preferred more ideas from a scholar like Fernández Robaina.

That *Espacios, silencios y los sentidos de libertad* is a “firm step in Cuban historiography” (p. 17), and a contribution to it, is certainly true. By focusing on a single region, the authors provide new insights for rethinking the macro-historical views symptomatic of national histories. Now that the contrast between the regional and the national has been made, what Cuban scholarship needs are more truly comparative studies between the different subregions of this Caribbean island.

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*Afro-Cuban Religions*. MIGUEL BARNET. Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2001. 170 pp. (Paper US\$ 16.95)

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*Afro-Cuban Religions* is a brief, popularizing synthesis. Barnett intends his book to double as a “compass” to guide travelers through the thickets of Cuba’s religious landscape. In the interest of “thinning out the dense undergrowth,” he describes the mythology and leading deities in the pantheons of the two best-known Afro-Cuban *reglas*, Ocha (often called Santería), and Palo Monte. Although there are illustrations depicting the famed Abakuá *diablitos* of Havana’s nineteenth-century Epiphany celebrations, the Abakuá society is excluded from the account. Instead, Barnett describes the practices of Ocha and Palo Monte in connection with divination and the propitiation of particular deities. Music and dance associated with these traditions are explored in descriptive sketches of their own. “Magic” and the use of *firmas* (literally, “signatures”), cosmograms drawn in white chalk or coal that invoke the powers of the Palo Monte, are also discussed. The excursion concludes with Barnett’s return to Nigeria in its guise as “land of the orishas.” In what reads like an entry from a travel journal, Barnett describes the trip as a homecoming of sorts. In the temple of Eggun near the city of Abeokuta, he finds himself “immersed in a well of mystery” without being quite overwhelmed. “On the contrary,” he notes, “I feel that this world also belongs to me” (p. 141).

Barnett’s claim on Nigeria is both spiritual and historical. He argues throughout that in spite of syncretism, regional variation, and other forces that militate against uniformity and strict orthodoxy in Cuban religious practices, Yoruba people and their traditions “had the greatest influence on the integrative processes of the island’s cultural and religious system” (p. 17). Lucumí, as things Yoruba came to be called in Cuba, provided the “dominant models” and points of reference for all other *reglas*. According to Barnett, Lucumí attained this position because of the superior strength and sophistication of their mythology, much of which is codified in an oral corpus of narratives about the *orishas* called *pwataki*. He maintains that Congo-derived traditions such as Palo Monte “preserved few of the mythological elements that would enable them to represent the characteristics of their supernatural beings” (p. 115). Indeed, Barnett asserts that “the limited

philosophical consistency of these cults and their animist and magical nature" made the Congo religion especially susceptible to debilitating outside influences (p. 82). For that reason, possessions in Palo Monte appear to him as mimed renditions of Lucumí.

Although he notes that all Afro-Cuban religions, including Regla Ocha, are products of transculturation, a process that transformed Yoruba as it did all other traditions found in Cuba, Barnet remains preoccupied with questions of origins and African survivals. Implicit in his descriptions is a hierarchy that places Lucumí above other traditions on account of the number and fidelity of its African retentions. In describing Ocha's pantheon, he uses the term Lucumí rather than Yoruba to signal that these divinities too were transformed. But he soon concludes that in Ocha the "give and take of elements and attributes" – a process that he regards as "natural" and "spontaneous" – "did not alter the basic concepts that were transplanted from Africa" (pp. 37-38).

Although Barnet is aware of the adaptability and creativity that creolization processes demanded, he is more concerned with the dialectics of loss and preservation. Given the emphasis on the retentive abilities of Lucumí, it comes as a surprise when Barnet declares that for all of their importance to the Afro-Cuban religious matrix, Yoruba deities "lost more than they gained" in Cuba (p. 40). As the account nears the contemporary period, transculturation would seem to give way to degeneration. In recent years, Barnet contends, the death of trained liturgical experts has created a "great spiritual vacuum" and a "chaotic and irreversible amalgam." He prophesies that soon Ocha will be reduced to "purely aesthetic values" capable of inspiring artists and writers, but unable to sustain much more (p. 67). The erosion is already discernible; Barnet warns that the repertoire of Lucumí myths is shrinking and that some myths are already becoming mere folktales. That myths are the proper measure of a religion is axiomatic for Barnet.

Although Barnet is concerned with the loss of tradition, he intimates that Cubans might benefit yet. As internal fragmentation and secular modernization drain the fount of Afro-Cuban mysteries in Cuba, one might expect an abatement of fantasy and misguided reasoning. In a revealing instance, Barnet observes that owing to postrevolutionary gains in health care, acts of "religious fanaticism" during the annual pilgrimage to the sanctuary of St. Lazarus in El Rincón are now less common (p. 60). Given the trend, there is reason to hope that believers today are also less likely to take myths at face value, as Barnet reports they tended to do in former times (p. 7).

*Afro-Cuban Religions* offers a summation of an important line of investigation in Cuban social science. Like other scholars in this tradition, Barnet sets out to document Afro-Cuban folklore as part of a larger effort

to uncover the foundations of the Cuban nation and its culture. Scholars concerned with this labor will no doubt be interested in the latest contribution by this famous author.

*Rituals of Power and Rebellion: The Carnival Tradition in Trinidad and Tobago, 1763-1962.* HOLLIS "CHALKDUST" LIVERPOOL. Chicago: Research Associates School Times Publications and Frontline Distribution International, 2001. xviii + 518 pp. (Paper n.p.)

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In the last several years there has been an astonishing outpouring of written work on the Trinidad Carnival. From published monographs to unpublished dissertations, the 1990s saw a marked increase in historical and ethnographic treatments of this singular event. For quite some time the best-known works on the Carnival were Errol Hill's *Trinidad Carnival* (1972) and the 1956 double issue of the journal *Caribbean Quarterly*. These works established the Carnival as the object of legitimate critical inquiry both anthropologically and historically. Perhaps the greatest inspiration for this recent wave of Carnival scholarship was Mikhail Bakhtin's exploration of the carnivalesque in literary theory. The appeal of Bakhtin's writing in literary theoretical circles soon spilled over into the social sciences where all manner of public display events and festivals of inversion were re-explored. The most rewarding result of this effluence of work is the growing sophistication of the writing. For instance, a wide range of theoretical orientations have now been taken toward the festival. Furthermore there has been more focused research, yielding works that treat different aspects of the celebrations as studies in themselves. From economic to transnational, the Carnival provides an entry into Trinidadian society from a range of orientations.

Hollis Liverpool, a longtime calypsonian and now government official, has produced a truly voluminous overview of the Carnival from 1763 to 1962, the year of Trinidad's independence from Great Britain. I was a bit confused by the years chosen, for nowhere is the significance of 1763 mentioned. Yet 1783, the year of the major Spanish Cedula de Población, a document that allowed large numbers of French and free colored planters

and their slaves to settle the island, was repeatedly cited as a watershed date. Nevertheless, Liverpool sets himself the task of trying to cover the greater part of the history of the Carnival from a decidedly Afrocentric viewpoint. The basic thesis of the book is that Carnival represents the enduring legacy of African traditions in Trinidad, despite attempts by white Europeans and other elites to stifle these traditions. His claim is that the scholarship on Carnival does not adequately credit African contributions to the formation and evolution of the Carnival arts, although this claim is never supported with a review of the relevant literature.

Liverpool chooses the term Africans to describe Trinidadians descended from the many peoples of West Africa who were transported to the New World as slaves. And although Liverpool pays a kind of lip service to hybridity and adaptation, this book is essentially an attempt to point to the pure African cultural antecedents of the Carnival arts in Trinidad. In that sense, then, it is in the tradition of Melville Herskovits, who sought to show the enduring links between Africa and the New World as an antidote to the idea that peoples of Africa lost their cultures in the Middle Passage. The problem with this approach, these days, however, is that the opposition seems to be increasingly made of straw. I doubt there are many serious scholars of the African diaspora, or even lay people, who question that New World African cultures are indebted to their African cultural forbears.

That being said, Liverpool's obvious passion for his subject and his dedication to the Carnival, calypso, steel band, and masquerade has led him to uncover some very interesting and unknown sources and also to make use of many that were previously known, but perhaps underrepresented in the historical literature. His goal to rely on ethnographic data to supplement historical records is ambitiously stated, but not thoroughly followed, and the work relies heavily on the memories of only a few key informants. This is not, in and of itself, necessarily a problem, but it does not conform to the stated goal of the book.

The text is divided into three parts and contains twelve chapters. There is, however, so much repetition, so little evolution of any coherent argument, and so little rigor in the definition of key terms that the book could have been less than half the size if it were properly organized. There are also grave inconsistencies, contradictions, and even errors that detract from the book's potential contribution to Carnival scholarship. The errors range from minor examples such as the misreading of Arnold van Gennep's work (p. 130) and the misquotation of statistics (p. 37) to serious logical inconsistencies. The book is also filled with grammatical errors and misspellings unbecoming an academic work. The key geographical region of Chaguaramas is misspelled at least five times! But these kinds of errors are not the real problem with the book. What is most disheartening is that Carnival scholars will not learn much that is new about the event, nor benefit from the insights of a

participant who has been so close to the action for so many years. What we get is an unproblematized polemic in which the history of Carnival is reduced to two-dimensional "white" characters oppressing African people. To outside readers one would never guess that nearly half the population of Trinidad is now East Indian, or that women ever played a role in the Carnival or that elites and the working classes, be they white, black, mixed, Chinese or Indian, ever held opinions or engaged in actions that ran contrary to what we might expect of them. Liverpool misses enormous opportunities here by glossing over the role of middle- and upper-class men who crossed class and racial lines to join the festivities in the late nineteenth century (known as "Jacketmen") and the puzzling and potentially contradictory patriotism of Trinidadians who both expressed solidarity with the enemies of the English and Americans (by masquerading as Boers, or Native Americans) and yet sang the praises of the Queen and heralded allied victories in both world wars. These peculiar and seemingly illogical crises of identity appear well suited to a sophisticated investigation of the colonial and postcolonial context of Carnival in the West Indies. Sadly we never get any treatment of these kinds of issues.

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*Fishers at Work, Workers at Sea: A Puerto Rican Journey through Labor and Refuge*. DAVID GRIFFITH & MANUEL VALDÉS PIZZINI. Philadelphia PA: Temple University Press, 2002. xiv + 265 pp. (Paper US\$ 19.95)

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This is a remarkable book about fishing and labor in Puerto Rico. Through rich empirical material and perceptive analysis the authors investigate wage-labor among small-scale fishers, and their part in the increasing global conflict between labor and the forces of capital. A central problem is that of how the incorporation of independent, domestic producers into

labor and commodity markets affects their economic activities and sense of self. Examples of different mixes of fishing and wage-work show how the various forms of subsistence complement or frustrate one another. Further, the authors ask how different aspects of fishers' lives are connected to the specific historical processes of proletarianization, deproletarianization, and semiproletarianization.

This study relies heavily on interviews centered on fishers' life histories. The narratives originate from over one hundred samples and serve as critiques of wider historical processes and their very local effects. The theoretical perspective is Marxist. Like Steward's (1956) important study, *The People of Puerto Rico*, the book focuses mainly on economic and material life. However, Griffith and Valdés Pizzini argue that Steward's (1956:14-15) notion of "levels of sociocultural integration" distinguished different social arenas, but gave little information about how different arenas influenced one another. A weakness in Steward's analysis was also that it basically implies an evolutionistic attitude. Not only do Griffith and Valdés Pizzini dissociate themselves from this stance, but also they repudiate Steward's line of argument by showing that processes of modernization are very unlike a linear movement from domestic production towards wage labor. In their view, expanding capitalist relations of production occasionally results in the complete proletarianization of small-scale producers. But this happens at a much less rapid pace than many economists have predicted. People also offer resistance to the domination of capitalist forces, so that new forms of domination and resistance are continually negotiated.

The Puerto Rican fishers' life histories are related to the specific historical contexts of sugarcane production and Puerto Rico's relationship to the mainland United States, and illustrate relationships among larger political developments and local peoples. Such relationships are influenced by coastal ecology and changing seasons, along with ties of power, culture, and class. Alejandro's work history, for example, is an individual manifestation of broader processes that first created a rural proletariat for the canefields and subsequently drew portions of that into the harvests of the mainland United States. While much writing about fishing categorizes fishers by region, type of gear, or species targeted, Griffith and Valdés Pizzini classify by degree of proletarianization or reliance on wage labor. This strategy is successful when it comes to describing small-scale fishing and its integration into large-scale processes of political economy. It also allows them to aptly illustrate the process of *semiproletarianization* (see below) and how fishing sometimes can work counter to proletarianization and as an economical buffer in times of hardship.

The process of semiproletarianization and Puerto Rican fishers' own conceptualization of such processes are at the crux of this book. Historically, migration opportunities to and from the U.S. mainland have increased



people's dependence on "*chiripas*" (odd jobs), and fishing must be understood within this context. Class formation among fishers is a process that is interwoven with individuals' involvement in other work situations. Griffith and Valdés Pizzini seek to revise anthropologists' traditional conceptualization of proletarianization. The way that people incorporate informal work and domestic production into their bases of subsistence and maintain a mix of such practices with wage labor is here rather referred to as *semiproletarianization*. By analyzing Puerto Rican fishers' own conceptual categories concerning injury and therapy, we are allowed to see how fishers characterize the custom of moving among multiple livelihoods. Fishers use the metaphors of injury and therapy to deal with their incomplete incorporation into and the contradictions of the different life trajectories of proletarianization (households increasing their wage-labor activity), deproletarianization (households decreasing their wage-labor activity and expanding their fishing enterprises), and semiproletarianization (maintaining a mix of wage-labor and fishing from generation to generation). These different trajectories constitute a remarkable collection of examples of how capitalist expansion creates intersections between local and global histories, and how the conceptual categories of injury and therapy give meaning to such ambiguous processes. Through this particular insight Griffith and Valdés Pizzini manage to demonstrate how people conceptually tackle processes of modernization, often in the face of dominating narratives about such processes where people's own concepts sometimes take the form of resistance.

The authors' Marxist orientation is clear throughout this volume as they illustrate how individual choices made within household contexts combine elements of the structural and the personal in a manner logically similar to Marx's notion of the dialectic between ideology and behavior. They also underline the central role that households play in this dialectic, and discuss the problem of gentrification of the coastline that threatens to restrict fishing communities' opportunities to fish as an alternative source of income or as a form of therapy. The strength of the authors' analysis becomes evident when they also show that many fishing communities react by strengthening their organizational powers in response to these disputes.

Griffith and Valdés Pizzini's account of the praxis of Puerto Rican fishers is given through a highly developed theoretical framework that is illuminating and holds the power of explication. Among the numerous accomplishments of this book is the way that the life histories of Puerto Rican fishers are seen against the background of U.S. involvement in the region and at the same time allowed to criticize this part of history. This way they manage to relate delicately what Roseberry has labeled "Puerto-Ricanization" (p. xiii).

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*The Political Economy of Gender in the Twentieth-Century Caribbean*. EUDINE BARRITEAU. New York: Palgrave, 2001. xvi + 214 pp. (Cloth US\$ 65.00)

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The Caribbean region is one of the oldest modern places. I do not mean technologically modern, nor modern in the sense of modernist. It was early in Europe's history of conquest and colonization and an early periphery where core states carried out their military, economic, and political conflicts. Modern production, capitalized enterprises, land and labor exploitation, commodity production, a large, regimented labor force, labor migration, economic dependence, a great range of family and household forms, offshore manufacturing and finance, and globalization all came to the Caribbean early in their histories. The history of Caribbean political economy could be written as a story of the enforced subsidizing of modern capitalism.

Women's work has always sustained Caribbean economies, and thus modern capitalism. In slavery, women's field labor underwrote plantation production. Women helped to found the informal economy that persisted through emancipation and into the present. Their labor in commodity production, informal production and exchange, and household economy is always recognized, but rarely accounted. By the middle of the twentieth century, women's economic roles had expanded beyond commodity and peasant agricultural production into other areas of the global economy, such as commodity handwork and manufacturing. Data entry is the most recent slot for women's labor in the global economy.

Economic globalization and "fair" trade agreements, which in fact mean more economic hegemony over the Caribbean, now influence Caribbean political economy as profoundly as did plantation production in its day. Eudine Barriteau analyzes the gender system of the Commonwealth or

Anglophone Caribbean in relation to the economic turmoil of globalizing economies. She uses Barbados as a case to illustrate the ways that the practices and ideologies of contemporary economic liberalism in Caribbean states shape the inequities of gender.

The Caribbean gender system is part of the region's condition of continuous modernizing. It attracted the attention of researchers long before the rise of feminist thought introduced the notion of gender systems as significant societal phenomena, and has its own history of research. Barriteau's book carries on the long tradition of research on Caribbean gender and women's economic roles, and pushes it further into a feminist critique of government neglect and economic development planning. She repeatedly and rightly exposes the discordance between policies and structured inequity. Contemporary ideals of gender equality are embodied in official statements, but are not implemented and do not match statistical realities of women's income and employment. At the same time, antiquated gender ideologies still influence popular thought and constitutional interpretation.

I would like to pick out two chapters for special discussion, even though they are not the only ones that are innovative and thought-provoking. Chapter 3, "Women and Gender Relations in the Twentieth-Century Caribbean," argues that the contemporary gender system exhibits continuing injustice that provokes conflict when the gaps between official gender ideology and the material realities of women's subordination are exposed.

The confusion of ideal policies with behavioral and statistical realities leads to claims that women's putative gains are men's losses. Never mind the erroneous zero-sum thinking that supposes if one sex rises the other must necessarily fall. Journalists, popular writers, and other commentators propose that men and boys suffer disadvantages at home, at school, on the job, and in public life because of the advantages and privileges granted to women. In fact, statistical analyses of employment and income show that women still are the majority occupants of lower-paid and less-skilled jobs. Even if their educational advantages were superior to men's – which is in any case an unproven proposition – the material foundations of gender inequity have not been altered.

Chapter 6, "Women, Economy and the State," treats women as agents in the formal economy, asking whether and how states promote women's enterprises. Women in household and informal economies are well-researched topics, but clarifying the roles of women as entrepreneurs in the formal economy is groundbreaking. Barriteau further innovates in exploring what states actually do to encourage women in business. Many Caribbean states have instituted women's desks and crafted policies to promote women's economic activities. Yet Barriteau finds that state offices for women's affairs have almost no power and that almost nothing is done to carry out these policies. Nevertheless, state policies and programs, powerless and

inactive though they are, give the general public the impression that a great deal is being done for women. Barriteau discovered that the majority of businesswomen founded their enterprises without access to conventional sources of start-up capital and without help from governmental or NGO programs. She also found that no matter how successful and independent businesswomen are, they rarely perceive themselves as initiators and decision-makers. She concludes that Caribbean states do not understand, let alone appreciate and support, the contributions of women to the formal economy.

Barriteau's methodological principles and procedures are powerful. They include a political economy conceptual framework and an insistence on feminist gender analysis focused on women as a tool for exposing the effects on women of postcolonial state policies and their globalizing economies. It is too much to expect that this excellent and sophisticated work should get the governmental attention it deserves, because states manipulate women's roles to maintain inequity and further their own goals. Barriteau admits that any transformation of relations between women and the state will be a "glacial process," but insists that gender inequity must be exposed continuously and challenged on every level.

*Twentieth-Century Suriname: Continuities and Discontinuities in a New World Society.* ROSEMARIJN HOEFTE & PETER MEEL (eds.). Kingston: Ian Randle; Leiden: KITLV Press, 2001. xvi + 365 pp. (Paper € 28,30)

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Despite the title's implied historical sweep, this nearly encyclopedic examination of Suriname's institutions covers materials mostly from the last few decades of the twentieth century. An exception is Rosemarijn Hoefte's opening essay on slavery and the plantation economy up to 1900. Like all of the remarkable essays in this volume, Hoefte covers new ground, and her documentation of this formative period will serve as a rich bibliographic resource for other researchers. Pitou van Dijk continues Hoefte's examination of the decline of plantation agriculture into the twentieth century. In a small economy, rapid price fluctuations have periodically had devastating

effects on domestic equilibrium – witness the efforts to replace sugar with coffee and cocoa, and the “rush” in gold and balata/rubber exploration. Like a wonderful display of fireworks in a dark tropical sky, the boom of some of these enterprises briefly electrified society. Exceptions, of course, were paddy rice and bauxite mining. But these, too, tended to unbalance a fragile economy by their scale and the differential benefits they brought to a few. Hans Buddingh’ carries the economic examination into the independence period with his examination of Suriname’s relations with the Netherlands. The ties to the metropole have always been heavily one-sided from colonial neglect and exclusive management of foreign investment to the later postcolonial dictation of plans (and consequent failure to abide by their own designs). Illustrating a number of these cases, Buddingh’ concludes that “Dutch-Surinamese development cooperation since independence may be characterised as a political and economic failure” (p. 83).

Politics comes in for a discouraging, but carefully drawn, critique as well. Hans Ramssoedh tackles the problem of ethnic relations – the struggle to maintain democracy in a centrifugal society. He sees the manipulation of ethnicity as generating “an incompetent and corrupt political class” that is little more than “the new coloniser” (p. 108). Hugo Fernandes Mendes examines contradictions in the new 1987 Surinamese constitution, and Peter Meel traces the country’s almost frantic efforts in foreign policy to be recognized and respected as a sovereign player. Have they logged any successes? Meel feels the answer has to be negative.

In terms of domestic social and cultural developments, Gloria Wekker begins with a fascinating portrayal of “unruly women” and “mimic men” in the life of the neighborhoods. Women have always been a forceful and politically active part of Surinamese life. But Wekker breaks down some of the stereotypes and explores a wider variety of family institutions and sexual pairings along with women’s protest against dual sexual standards. Harold Jap-A-Joe, Peter Sjak Shie, and Joop Vernooij report on the declining role of Suriname’s religious institutions in providing upward mobility for their parishioners, but they also give us a heartening description of interdenominational (including Hindu and Muslim) coordination and cooperation in defense of human rights.

Ad de Bruijne works with admittedly unreliable statistics to examine population growth, urbanization, and household composition with attention to class, ethnicity, income, and emigration. This latter theme is also picked up by Rubin Gowricharn and John Schuster, exploring the Surinamese diaspora. Intimate ties with their putative homeland makes it obvious, they write, “that the Surinamese plural society and the Dutch multicultural community will continue to influence each other through a number of transnational connections” (p. 171).

The articles on culture demonstrate the wealth of these connections in Surinamese life. In addition, they offer the crucial counterbalance to depressing analyses of politics and economics that would otherwise command a social scientist's attention. Eithne Carlin, for example, a specialist in linguistics, provides an elementary inventory of Suriname's nineteen languages and proceeds to explore the multilingual "code-switching" or multiple language use that occurs between individuals of two ethnic groups. With a premium on multilingual knowledge, it is generally a practice that produces harmony and comfort, though it can also involve one-up-manship, as between Creoles "insisting" on Sranan with a returning Creole whose Sranan is rusty.

Hilda van Neck-Yoder, Alex van Stipriaan, and Kenneth Bilby, respectively, take us into the transnational *mélange* of literature, art, and music. This is an area that, while still evolving, is nonetheless a source of great pride for citizens at home and in the diaspora. Van Neck-Yoder, choosing depth rather than breadth, provides a fascinating comparative analysis of Trefossa, Bea Vianen, Edgar Cairo, Albert Helman, and Hans Faverey, authors in search of their rooted significance. Van Stipriaan's essay on art is called "Roads to the Roots or Stuck in the Mud?" While providing some attention to Maroon art and popular street art, he gives most of his attention to the search for an authentic Surinamese tradition by the teachers and studios generating academic art. Finally, Kenneth Bilby takes us into the musical marriage of Creole and Maroon rhythms together with the poetry of assertion, namely (with a pan-African anthem from Peter Tosh as its inspiration) – *alwasi pe i komopo / opo i ede a loktu / yu na wan Sranan man* ("wherever you come from / hold your head high / you're a Surinamese").

The editors confess to limitations in this banquet of essays, missing contributions in the fields of education and sport. I would add the fields of journalism and theater. On the latter topic, I especially missed reference to the Doe Theater of Thea Doelwijt and Henk Tjon, which produced some of the most inventive and edifying of musical cabarets: *Land te Koop*, *Fri Libi*, and, most courageously, *Ba Uzi*. The focus on a few great writers meant leaving out still others: Dobru and Shrinivasi among them. And the focus on *kawina/kaseko* and all their reggae- and soca-inspired variations meant missing a very different but popular musical phenomenon, the annual *Suripop* festivals. In a remarkable and invaluable volume like this, such omissions are inevitable. They are worth citing if only to add this reviewer's salute to an indomitable and resilient society.

Finally, the editors and publisher are to be congratulated for the abundance of photographs (photo-reduced and carefully placed) to enhance the text. Extensive footnotes and bibliography and index will also make this a useful reference work. That it is in smooth and readable English will occasion no problem for Dutch (or Surinamese) readers and will, hopefully, bring new attention to this deserving land from across the Caribbean and beyond.

*Power to the People: Energy and the Cuban Nuclear Program.* JONATHAN BENJAMIN-ALVARADO. New York: Routledge, 2000. xiii + 178 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.99)

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Jonathan Benjamin-Alvarado has assembled a fascinating account of the Cuban nuclear energy program using primary and secondary data. He frames this account with modernization and development theories, the post-Soviet era, and growing environmental consciousness triggered largely by the Chernobyl calamity. The central actor in this drama is the Juragua reactor just outside Cienfuegos, on Cuba's south-central coast. Is Cuba's energy dilemma the result of the long-standing U.S. trade embargo? Did the former USSR (and now Russia) desert their toehold in the Western hemisphere? These layered narratives permeate this readable and important account of Cuban and Latin American politics and energy policy.

Cuba's nuclear energy program began in the 1980s. Its aim was to free the economy from hard-currency dependence on foreign oil imports. Although today Cuba produces about 15 percent of its petroleum needs (up nearly threefold from the mid-1980s), it is still spending precious hard currency on oil imports. The salience of Benjamin-Alvarado's story is even more pressing since the book's publication because of the soured relationships between the Mexican president, Vicente Fox, and Fidel Castro, and the vicissitudes of Venezuelan president Chavez's "*bolivariana*" revolution that entailed, for a while, subsidized oil exports to Cuba. Nevertheless, in the early 1990s, Cuba entered its "Special Period in a Time of Peace" which complicated the completion of Juragua, securing credits, and enlisting technical support. That a nuclear accident in Cuba portends great implications for the public health of the Cayman Islands, the Bahamas, and the southeastern United States muddled the waters further. Chapter 1 contextualizes these factors and then interprets them in a discussion of modernization theory, energy and economic security, and research methodology. The author tells us "Cuba's ongoing and persistent failure to develop nuclear energy during the past twenty years presents a dilemma of sorts for the Castro regime" (especially the start-and-stop of Juragua, p. 17). He elaborates:

I expect to find that the symbolic rationale established during the early stages ... has been discarded for an approach that is much more economically rational in regard to grand infrastructural projects ... A preliminary analysis of Cuban nuclear activities suggests that officials involved in initiating the nuclear program gave primary consideration to political reasons (p. 17).

The book sets up a broader theoretical context in the second chapter by examining the role of energy development, modernization theory, and case studies of energy development. Chapter 3 offers a cost-benefit analysis of the Cuban energy policies, as well as an analysis of the present Cuban energy model. The author shows that "economic development is only a necessary prerequisite for liberal democratic governance, and not a sufficient condition for the realization of political democracy" (p. 41). We learn that approaches to nuclear energy policy often fail to understand the incentives and disincentives in a cost-benefit manner which, in turn, provide a framework for the next two chapters.

It is not surprising that Cuba's nuclear energy program had the full blessing of Fidel Castro. As early as 1968, Castro identified the nuclear path as a desirable one, even though Fulgencio Batista created the *Comisión de Energía Nuclear de Cuba* in 1955. The Eisenhower administration promised to work with the government to establish a 1MW reactor for a nuclear research laboratory, a 2.5 MeV Van de Graaff accelerator, and other minor nuclear apparatuses. A variety of projects to establish small reactors in Regla (Havana), Zapata Swamp, and other locations, however, never materialized. Obviously, the 1959 revolution, aside from serious cost and distribution concerns, thwarted those efforts. In 1967, the Academy of Sciences in Havana held a Soviet-sponsored photo exhibit titled, "Atomic Energy for Peaceful Purposes." Within a year, the two nations announced a formal nuclear energy program. It is here that the author develops his skills as a policy analyst, and leaves no perspective unturned in systematically assessing the evolution of Cuba's nuclear energy. Table 3.8, "Outcomes Matrix," is a particularly succinct way of approaching issues of economic viability, nuclear safety, technical assistance, and environmental risk.

Chapter 4 changes the scale of analysis to the international context shaping the island's nuclear trajectory. The author reviews in adequate detail the many international treaties signed by Havana and their implications for providing legitimacy and finance for the island's reactors. Germany, Spain, Italy, France, Argentina, and other nations made overtures to rescue the fledgling nuclear industry in the 1990s. It was not, as some might suspect, the U.S. opposition to Cuba's nuclear energy (for safety and armament concerns) that stymied nuclear production in the 1990s. Rather, "the loss of Cuba's primary nuclear trade partner has devastated the nuclear program. While the Russian Federation has attempted to keep the Juragua project alive, the fact



remains that the numerous trade agreements concluded between Cuba and Russia to complete construction have been mostly symbolic in nature” (p. 115).

*Power to the People* concludes with a short chapter and a postscript that make a cogent case about why Havana continues to press for a nuclear energy program, and why that program makes good sense to the revolutionary leadership. While Juragua remains mothballed at a very hefty price, Cuba has made significant gains in nuclear-related fields of physics, agriculture, and medicine (p. 136). The author believes “one should not be so quick to label the effort a failure.” Cuba has in place a well-conceived and operating nuclear bureaucracy and the scientific and technological infrastructure to successfully exploit nuclear power for electricity should its financial position improve in the future (p. 142). This is a much more sympathetic view than one reached recently by Díaz-Briquets and Pérez-López (2000) in their insightful analysis of socialist Cuba’s energy policies. Furthermore, Benjamin-Alvarado mostly skirts the issue of whether excluding citizen input into shaping nuclear policy is a concern, or whether the opportunity costs incurred in food, shelter, and healthcare merit his conclusions.

This is a well-written and concise book that will interest a variety of scholars in the social sciences, development studies, civil engineering, energy and environmental policy, and the natural sciences. It lacks a useful index (a short one exists but it seems likely that the publisher compiled it), but its endnotes are copious and its references are useful. Benjamin-Alvarado documents an important case study and provides a useful framework for assessing this important topic.

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*The Cultural Politics of Sugar: Caribbean Slavery and Narratives of Colonialism.* KEITH A. SANDIFORD. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 221 pp. (Cloth US\$ 59.95)

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Keith Sandiford's wide-ranging and theoretically ambitious study, *The Cultural Politics of Sugar*, might well have been entitled "Sweete Negotiation." The phrase, culled from Richard Ligon's 1657 *History of Barbadoes*, furnishes an organizing conceit for Sandiford's readings of six narratives about the elaboration of West Indian creole cultural identity in the long eighteenth century. Sandiford examines the strategies that permitted eighteenth-century creole authors to negotiate between the sweet economic profits to be gleaned from sugar and the bitter pill of Caribbean dependence on slavery, between the desire to attain literary and political credibility in the eyes of the metropolitan public and creole aspirations for an autonomous cultural identity.

The concept of negotiation, with its shadings of economic bargaining and political and cultural give-and-take, has venerable forebears, and Sandiford further invigorates the term by remarking on the tension between its Latin roots: *neg-* (not) and *otium* (ease, quiet). Sandiford returns to these terms throughout the book, employing them as the metaphorical poles between which creole identity restlessly shifts in each text. Simultaneously trope and practice, "rhetoric pressed into the service of representing material culture" (p. 25), and "mode of symbolic action," (p. 31), the term *negotiation* is able to embrace a wide range of practices both within and outside the texts at hand. The very suppleness of the term *negotiation* at times makes it hard to pin down, but Sandiford carefully anchors his theoretical contentions in attentive textual and historical readings of six primary texts: Ligon's *History of Barbadoes*, Charles de Rochefort's *Natural and Moral History of the Antilles* (1666), James Grainger's *The Sugar Cane* (1764), Janet Schaws's *Journal of a Lady of Quality* (written 1774-76), William Beckford's *Descriptive Account of Jamaica*, and Matthew (Monk) Lewis's *Journal of a West Indian Proprietor* (1834). These texts populate the footnotes of eighteenth-century studies on colonialism but are rarely the object of sustained or systematic investigation. Sandiford not only reads each work with admirable attention to historical context and the specific conditions of

its literary production, but also proffers a valuable and much-needed narrative of the relations between these disparate works in order to tender a coherent theory of the eighteenth-century bid for creole cultural legitimacy. Sandiford does not read "through" the texts to their historical context, but examines the formal aspects of each text (its tropes, its addressees, its contradictions) in the kind of close reading that eighteenth-century colonial texts too infrequently receive. Thus his remarkable treatment of Grainger's use of the georgic mode shows how literary form was reshaped to accommodate colonial content (as in Grainger's risible "Now, Muse, let's sing of rats," p. 75) while addressing how such literary reformulations arise out of the author's torn allegiance between "the clubbable ethos of Johnsonian politics and the Creole ethos of bourgeois capitalism" (p. 70). Sandiford's treatment of the contradictions that emerge when European literary topoi are translated to the tropics embraces an impressive range of genres and literary practices: from Rochefort's exploitation of the trope of *premier temps* and Schaw's manipulation of Scottish national sensibilities to Beckford's use of the picturesque and Lewis's Romantic idealism.

Maintaining the tensions at work within these texts courts the risk of homogenizing either metropolitan or colonial interests as half of a binary. Sandiford shows admirable sensitivity to the plurality of (primarily European) voices and positions in these texts. Particularly useful in this regard is his examination of the political contexts that distinguish the French colonial project out of which Rochefort's text emerged. With a few exceptions, African and indigenous populations primarily surface in these narratives as bodies to be repressed, aestheticized, or otherwise circumvented, a reminder that the Bakhtinian multivoicedness alluded to in Sandiford's introduction involves the occlusion as well as the mingling of voices and discourses. "Caribs and Africans," Sandiford contends, "are always elusive, never attaining total presence, therefore never accommodating themselves to full apprehension. Together they ensure that Creole desire is always problematized and decidedly contested" (pp. 16-17). In the book's periodization, these partial presences are only gradually apprehended as part of creole identity; it is only around the time of Beckford's 1790 *Descriptive Account*, Sandiford writes, that "the identifier 'Creole' can no longer be taken as an exclusive marker for whites" (p. 124).

The book contains an impressive chorus of theoretical voices, and Sandiford nimbly shifts from one theoretical take to another. At times, however, wonderfully suggestive connections between these eighteenth-century texts and current literary and cultural theory are pointed to but not fully worked out, leaving open the question of how, to take one example, Ligon's animistic depiction of slaves tending hungry braziers might turn on or modify Girard's concept of the sacred (p. 37). The writing is at times syntactically complex, with a density of theoretical language that poses

perennially troubling questions about the imposition of current theoretical paradigms on eighteenth-century texts. If the kinship sought between the earlier texts and White, Certeau, Butler, and Bhabha (to name only a few) at times suggests a desire to negotiate historical differences through the relatively familiar tenets of contemporary theory, the theoretical sophistication of the book's interests, coupled with its original, probing readings of often under-examined texts, make it a valuable contribution to the study of West Indian creole writing in the eighteenth century.

*Derek Walcott*. JOHN THIEME. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999. xvii + 251 pp. (Cloth US\$ 69.95)

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To work on writers as productive as Derek Walcott can be very exciting but potentially frustrating at the same time. In 2000, barely one year after John Thieme published his *Derek Walcott* with Manchester University Press, Farrar, Straus, and Giroux issued *Tiepolo's Hound*, a long poem in couplets where (among other things) Walcott offers his readers a parallel account of his life and that of the Caribbean impressionist painter Camille Pissarro. Moreover, two plays by Walcott – *Walker* and *The Ghost Dance* – have just come out. Nevertheless, this by no means renders Thieme's book out-of-date or irrelevant. Whoever reads it will be more than well equipped to enjoy and understand *Tiepolo's Hound*, *Walker* and *The Ghost Dance* together with the rest of Walcott's works. This is not only because Thieme's book is a thorough work, covering both Walcott's drama and poetry (with appropriate references to his essays), but also because it revolves around a valid argument passionately supported.

In "Contexts and Intertexts," the first of seven chronologically organized chapters which provide a precise account of Walcott's aesthetic itinerary, Thieme introduces his argument and elaborates upon it, preparing readers for what is to come. He begins by contesting the stereotyped view of Walcott as a Eurocentric writer in two different ways. First, he points out that Walcott's key formative influences for his apprenticeship years not only include "masters" like T.S. Eliot, Dante, and Charles Baudelaire but also the folk

culture of his native island of St. Lucia. Thieme then focuses on Walcott's "The Spoiler's Return" for some of his primary exemplifications. This long poem, published for the first time in 1981 and now included in the *Collected Poems* (Walcott 1986:432-38), is intriguing in terms of Walcott's use of intertextuality: from a Eurocentric point of view one could read it as a poem written in couplets and following the Roman and English Augustan satire, but from a Caribbean perspective one could say that it follows the popular meter of calypso and its oral tradition. Rather than validating what at first sight might be seen as a binary model (Europe/Caribbean), Thieme points out that Walcott collapses the distance between the two cultures and suggests "dialectical continuities across cultures and periods *and* within the utterances of a particular speech act or literary text" (p. 23).

Chapter 2, "Finding a Voice," is especially helpful because it focuses on Walcott's early poetry – some of which is difficult to find in either bookshops or libraries. Thieme anchors these poems to their Caribbean context by pointing out that the existential *angst*, the sense of psychological fragmentation, and lost innocence which characterize them, can be seen as a response to the racial divisions of the Caribbean. Chapter 3, "Founding a West Indian Theatre," introduces us to Walcott's early plays (until 1967), signposting the development of a theatrical practice sensitive to Caribbean cultures and traditions and coming to terms with their creolization. Thieme's main line of reasoning in the book is formed by what he calls "two interlocking theses": "Walcott's attempt to erode Manichean binaries in favour of a continuum model of culture and identity" and the development of a "poetics of migration" which both challenges and undermines discursive boundaries (p. 205). In Chapter 4, "The Poet as Castaway," Thieme suggests that despite Walcott-the-poet's cultivation of an individual, personal, and subjective perspective, there is a certain continuity of practices and purposes between poet and playwright. Far from promoting "the notion of the unitary Cartesian self," Walcott's poetry "promotes ... subjectivity as a discursive formation ... [and] offers a radical challenge to versions of identity predicated upon linear, essentialist conceptions of self" (pp. 93-94).

With Chapter 5 ("Renegotiating Roles"), Thieme returns to drama and explores how the achievement of independence in various parts of the Caribbean put Walcott's attempts to erode the binarism of colonizer/colonized in a new and more complex perspective. Accounts of well-known plays like *The Joker of Seville* – a creolized adaptation of Tirso de Molina's *El Burlador de Sevilla* commissioned by the Royal Shakespeare Company – are intermingled with precious commentaries on then-still-unpublished plays, such as *The Ghost Dance* (first performed in 1989), a particularly interesting work because it draws a parallel between the genocides of the native populations of the Caribbean and North America.

Chapter 6, "Odysseys," is an intelligent study of Walcott's Homeric associations. Thieme rightly emphasizes that neither are they merely derivative, nor do they have a strictly counterdiscursive value. He also claims that the image of the restless wanderer is the embodiment of an effort to embrace and (re)negotiate different cultures that recurs throughout his poetry and drama. The concluding chapter reinforces Thieme's argument: readers are reminded that if initially the need for a "poetics of migration" was intensely local and emerged from a specific situation of marginalization, now that essentialist positions are no longer tenable, Walcott's "poetics of migration" has acquired a "global valency" (p. 205). As Thieme repeatedly points out, Walcott's aesthetic choice actually anticipated well-known subsequent theoretical practices (i.e. hybridization theory). A "Selected Bibliography" (which is not complete but constitutes a good place to start with someone as prolific as Walcott) closes a rich and truly comprehensive study of Walcott's works from the 1940s to 1999 (and beyond).

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*All Are Involved: The Art of Martin Carter*. STEWART BROWN (ed.). Leeds U.K.: Peepal Tree, 2000. 413 pp. (Paper £ 14.99)

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This volume does a great service to an important Caribbean poet, thanks to the work of a masterly editor and a dedicated press. Martin Carter (1927-97) was born in Georgetown, Guyana, and lived his life there, an educated, brown, middle-class "poet of the people." So goes the soundbite. But Carter's relation to his country's people and its politics was complex. When the young Cheddi Jagan came on the political scene of what was then the colony

of British Guiana in the 1940s, Carter recognized a visionary after his own heart and did extensive party work in preparation for the first adult suffrage election in 1953. The election of Jagan, perceived in those cold war years as a Communist, led to an invasion by British troops and suspension of the new constitution. Carter was among those imprisoned (for several months) as a result. He had already published (locally) three volumes of poems: *The Hill of Fire Glows Red* (1951), *The Kind Eagle* (1952), and *The Hidden Man* (1952). (Frank Birbalsingh's excellent account of them is included here.) His next collection, *Poems of Resistance from British Guyana*, published in London in 1954, is the work that both made Carter's reputation as a poet and petrified that reputation, so that he came to be known abroad only as a political activist who wrote "socialist poetry." More collections followed, chief among them *Poems of Succession* (1977), *Poems of Affinity* (1980), and *Selected Poems* (1989, with a revised edition in 1997), but these were all but unknown outside the Caribbean. Within the Caribbean, the later poems tended to be read in the light of Guyana's tragic decline under the oppressive rule of Forbes Burnham. In that light, Carter appears to move through deep political disillusionment to seek refuge in poetic inwardness when faced with his country's increasing racialism, violence, and cultural disintegration.

Critical approaches to Carter can hardly avoid taking part in debates about the function of poetry in a politically charged context – for example, about the relative values of public and private utterance, or about whether political poetry is real poetry. Here Stewart Brown has brought together an impressive array of diverse, cogently-argued positions on those crucial questions. The prominence of the word "art" in the book's subtitle is pointed but not tendentious. His introduction explains that the original aim of the collection was to bring together the best of the existing criticism and to supplement it with newly-solicited essays. The result is 100 pages of material providing contexts for Carter's work, and another 200 pages of detailed readings of his poems.

But there is more. Martin Carter died during the preparation of the book, and in response the editor decided to add another section of recollections and tributes, including some of the original obituaries, which adds another 100 pages to the volume. The final product offers 400 pages of work by 65 contributors. Thanks to the generosity of Peepal Tree, long dedicated to the cause of Caribbean literature, this large book is available for a reasonable price. And thanks to the prodigious energies of Stewart Brown, the book includes a bibliography which effectively supersedes previous bibliographies of Carter, and along with it, gives us that blessed thing – so rare in edited volumes – an index.

The quality of the critical essays is consistently high. The essays of Eusi Kwayana and Gordon Rohlehr are notable for the depth of contextual knowledge they bring to bear. Kamau Brathwaite's two articles on Carter are

perhaps the most widely known studies of Carter, but they are complemented by Barbara Lalla's lucid demonstration of the value of a linguistic approach to the poetry, and Rupert Roopnarine's brilliant, revealing analysis of an apparently simple eight-line poem. Among the essays on the later poetry, those by Michael Gilkes, Stanley Greaves, and Al Creighton stand out. Creighton's is valuable for its survey of early criticism of Carter, and incidentally reflects well on the editor's judgment, since nearly all that he mentions is reprinted in this volume. Indeed there are many historically important items (some obscurely published or now virtually inaccessible), including early prefaces that help to situate the poems in their moment. Along the way, several of the writers offer astute comments on Carter's very subtle use of dialect in the poetry. Clem Seecharan in passing reprints a worthy and nearly overlooked poem, "If Today" (1954), which is not even included in the bibliography of poems published in periodicals (p. 34).

The added tributes and memoirs are by their nature not always substantial. Yet Mark McWatt has written a very fine and moving essay, and Sasenarine Persaud presents a unique Indian perspective on Carter, with intriguing comments on the poet's relationship to Rabindranath Tagore. In interviews, Derek Walcott and George Lamming offer much insight into Carter's life and work. Nearly a dozen of the tributes are themselves poems by major poets, among which, for this reader, Syl Lowhar's stands out.

Stewart Brown, working with excellent materials, has produced an important book, likely to generate considerable new interest in Carter, and capable of serving as a model for consolidating critical perspective on other Caribbean writers. Above all, this collection makes a powerful argument for the unique significance of Carter as a poet, a significance most elegantly characterized by Roopnarine: "Already, as early as 1955, the Carter manner announces itself; notably in the stubborn precisions of the writing and the rhythmic movement of mind. Thought itself is cadenced, musical even as it stalks the truth" (p. 49).



*An Introduction to Pidgins and Creoles*. JOHN HOLM. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. xxi + 282 pp. (Cloth US\$ 69.95)

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The publication of John Holm's two-volume work, *Pidgins and Creoles*, in 1988-89 was one of the important events of 1980s creolistics. An entire new generation of young creolists – myself included – grew up with it as *the* reference work. Although much has happened since the publication of this work, it still remains the first book I recommend when beginners ask me where to start a journey into the fascinating world of creole linguistics. Even though it has shortcomings, I regard *Pidgins and Creoles* as a remarkable achievement. Despite impressive works such as John Reinecke (1937) and Norbert Boretzky (1983) – on which Holm relied heavily – never before had so much relevant creole data been assembled by one single person.

When I became informed enough to spot some of Holm's (1988-89) inevitable shortcomings, I began thinking about an expanded and revised edition. Now that more than a decade has passed since the original publication, it appears that Cambridge University Press, too, feels the moment has come for an updated reissue. For this is, in essence, what the "new" *Introduction to Pidgins and Creoles* is – a merger of two volumes into one, with the addition of some sections, and minimal updating of others. The book has a new title, but is in reality old material in a new packaging. The only comment on this to be found in *An Introduction* is two brief lines in the preface, saying: "This book contains much fresh material [but] also rests on the foundation of my earlier volumes [Holm 1988/89]." Saying that the book "rests on the foundation" of the 1988-89 volumes is a gross understatement when the overwhelming majority of the material is not only similar, but in fact, identical, word for word. I do not know whether the author or the publishing company is responsible for this, but highly dubious – if not outright dishonest – it is.

Yet, since Holm 1988-89 was a masterpiece, it could not possibly turn bad by a slight reworking, and the "new" book still is an excellent introduction to the subject. One thing I find unfortunate, however, is the remaining emphasis on Atlantic creoles. This may have been warranted in the original edition (when most of the data available were concerned with the Atlantic), but a widening of the scope to include more material relating to other varieties

ought, in my view, to have been the main objective for a revised edition. Given the title, one might perhaps also have expected the incorporation of more pidgin data. As the book stands, pidgins are more or less discussed in passing.

Another thing on my wish list would have been the correction of certain fallacies. It must be borne in mind that a work with this wide a scope is bound to contain errors, and most of Holm's are no more serious than in any comparable work. Yet, one would think that the correction of such errors would be one of the main reasons for publishing a new edition of the book. Again, although they are not spectacularly numerous or salient, it would have been an easy task to correct errors like the following:

- Maridi Arabic is still suggested (p. 15) to have been spoken in Mauretania, whereas both Kaye (1991:5) and Owens (1996:132) have since argued that the text fragments may instead be from Egypt or Sudan.
- The one preposition of Russenorsk is given as *pa* rather than *po*, presumably because of Holm's attempt at rendering the Norwegian spelling *på*, where the vowel is back mid rather than open, as the current (mis)spelling suggests.
- In discussing Tok Pisin and other varieties of Melanesian Pidgin English, Holm completely ignores the case made – to my mind convincingly – by Baker (1993) that an ancestral proto-pidgin first emerged in southern Australia rather than in Melanesia.
- The number of speakers of the Sāotomense and Principense Creoles of West Africa is equated with the number of inhabitants of these islands (p. 73), although both varieties are retreating before Portuguese, so much so that Principe is a dying language now spoken only by a tiny minority of the total population (Romana 1997:210; Lorenzino 1998:42).
- Just as in 1989, Holm still suggests (p. 74) that the Bantu lexicon of Angolar dates to a period before its split from Proto-Sāotomense, despite the fact that all evidence points in the opposite direction. (For a brief discussion and references, see Parkvall 2000:133-34.)

On the other hand, I am even more impressed than before by Holm's historical background sketches (which took up most of Volume 2 in 1989, but which are the foremost victims of the shortening required to merge the two volumes into one). In them, he captures excellently the socioeconomic factors which led to the formation of the languages under discussion. A section entitled "Development of Theory" (which takes up the more than 50 pages of Chapter 2) is also brilliant and serves as a great introduction to the history of the subdiscipline of creole linguistics, and Holm has succeeded in keeping a neutral stance with regard to many controversial matters. One might object, though, that this is somewhat facilitated by the relative lack of new material – it is certainly easier not to offend anybody when dealing with events that took place several decades or even a century ago than it is when discussing the latest disciplinary developments. When it comes to more contemporary issues, my feeling is that Holm relies too heavily on substrate explanations, at the expense of the simplificatory tendencies of pidginization, which I prefer to emphasize. This "moderate substratist" (in Holm's own words) bent is not extreme, however, and ought not be problematic for the mainstream creolist.

Yet, the substratist stance might motivate a wider selection of substrate languages. Holm says (p. 174) that he has considered twenty African languages, but except when he quotes other creolists, Bambara and Yoruba remain the only ones actually cited. Holm is aware (p. 62) that speakers of Yoruba arrived too late in the New World to have much of an influence, but he sees it and Bambara as "representative of the substrate languages that influenced the creoles" (p. 179). Such a policy has its obvious risks, and occasionally Holm takes this "representativeness" much too far, as for example when he suggests Bambara influence on the imperfective marker /ka/ of the Gulf of Guinea creoles (p. 181). It is, in fact, relatively certain that there never was a Bambara presence in this region.

One of the purposes of a review is of course to give the potential readers an idea of whether or not the book reviewed is worth buying. I would recommend that anybody not already in possession of the original volumes purchase *Introduction to Pidgins and Creoles*. If you already have them, though, there is little reason to support a publishing company trying to make you purchase the same publication twice.

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